

I'm understanding more now!
- The Use of the Progressive
in Contemporary Spoken Scottish English

Jenni Kaitala
University of Tampere
School of Language, Translation and Literary Studies
English Philology
Pro Gradu Thesis
April 2013

KAITALA, JENNI: The Use of the Progressive in Contemporary Spoken Scottish English

Pro gradu – tutkielma, 100 sivua
Huhtikuu 2013

Tämä pro gradu – tutkielma tarkastelee progressiivi-muodon (be + V + -ing) käyttöä puhutussa Skotlannin englannissa. Tutkielman päätarkoituksena on Skotlannin englannin korpusta käyttäen tutkia miten ja millaisissa konteksteissa progressiivia käytetään kyseisessä varieteetissa keskittyen erityisesti erilaisiin standardista poikkeaviin käyttötapoihin ja merkityksiin. Lisäksi tutkielma selvittää syitä siihen miksi progressiivi on niin suosittu kieliopillinen muoto Skotlannin englannissa, ja miksi se valitaan usein perusmuodon sijaan.

Aiempien tutkimusten pohjalta on tiedossa, että progressiivin käyttö on lisääntynyt englannin kielessä runsaasti viime vuosikymmeninä. Progressiivia käytetään yhä enemmän myös sellaisten verbien kanssa, jotka eivät standardien mukaan normaalisti esiintyisi progressiivissa (etenkin ns. statiiviverbit), ja se on levinnyt myös kuvaamaan laajemmin erilaisia merkityksiä, kuten tunteita ja asenteita. Skotlannin englannissa progressiivi on huomattu olevan erityisen innovatiivisesti käytetty muoto, ja tutkielma pyrkiikin esittelemään sen käyttöä monipuolisesti eri näkökulmista.

Tutkielman teoreettisena viitekehyksenä on käytetty useita ajantasaisia tutkimuksia progressiivista, teoksia Skotlannin englannista varieteettina sekä joitakin kielioppiteoksia. Tutkimusmateriaalina on puhutun kielen osa Skotlannin englannin SCOTS – korpusta, josta on tutkimuksen rajaamisen vuoksi käytetty sattumanvaraista otantaa. Korpus toimii erinomaisena lähteenä autenttiseen kieleen tutkimuskohteena ja keskittyy moderniin Skotlannin englantiin, mikä on erityisen tärkeää tämän tutkielman kannalta.

Tutkimuksessa kävi ilmi, että progressiivia esiintyy Skotlannin englannissa laajalti erilaisten statiiviverbien kanssa ja sen merkitys vaihtelee suuresti tilanteen mukaan. Progressiivi oli yleinen myös modaaliapuverbien kanssa, jotka progressiivissa välittävät erityisiä merkityksiä, ja sitä käytettiin etenkin varieteetille tyypillisten modaalien kanssa. Statiiviverbien kohdalla tuli esiin innovatiivisia käyttötapoja lähes kaikkien löydettyjen verbien kohdalla, mutta erityisesti esimerkiksi verbien *hope* ja *want* kanssa, joita käytettiin epätavallisesti myös ilman korostunutta kohteliaisuutta. Tulokset näyttävät, että progressiivin käyttö Skotlannin englannissa on enemmän riippuvainen kommunikoitavasta merkityksestä kuin tietyistä verbeistä tai kielioppisäännöistä, ja puhuja voi usein valita progressiivin tyylillisistä tai asenteellisistakin syistä. Tuloksissa korostuikin progressiivin valinta silloin, kun haluttiin ilmaista jotakin enemmän kuin perusmuoto olisi tuonut julki, mutta usein myös ilman selkeätä syytä – koska mahdollisuus siihen oli. Tämä tutkielma osoittaa progressiivin käytön Skotlannin englannissa olevan innovatiivista ja siihen liittyvien kielioppisääntöjen usein joustavan merkityksen tieltä.

Avainsanat: progressiivi, Skotlanti, korpuslingvistiikka, statiiviverbi, varieteetti

Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. English in Scotland	4
2.1. Historical Considerations.....	5
2.1.1. Anglicization	8
2.1.2. The Scots Renaissance.....	9
2.2 The Current Linguistic Situation in Scotland	10
3. Characteristics of Scottish English	13
3.1. Phonological Characteristics	13
3.1.1 Consonants in Scottish English.....	13
3.1.2. Vowels in Scottish English.....	14
3.2. Morphological and Syntactic Characteristics.....	15
3.2.1. Irregular Verbs.....	15
3.2.2. Plural Nouns.....	16
3.2.3. Pronouns.....	16
3.2.4. Number Agreement.....	17
3.2.5. Negation	17
3.2.6. Modal Verbs.....	18
3.3. Lexical Characteristics.....	19
4. Defining the Progressive.....	21
4.1. The Progressive and Verbs.....	23
4.2. Tense and Aspect.....	25
4.3. The Progressive Passive	27
5. The Meanings of the Progressive.....	29
5.1. Aspectual Meanings	29
5.1.1. Situation in progress/ongoingness.....	30
5.1.2. Imperfectivity.....	30
5.1.3. Durativity.....	31
5.1.4. Dynamicity	32
5.1.5. Temporariness.....	32
5.2. Special Meanings	32
5.2.1. Interpretive use.....	33
5.2.2. Futurate progressive and future-as-a-matter-of-course	34
5.2.3. Emotive/attitudinal use.....	35
6. Historical development of the progressive in English.....	36
6.1. The Scottish perspective.....	39
6.2 Contact with Celtic Languages.....	39
7. Materials and Methods	46
7.1. The Corpus.....	46
7.2. Methods employed	48
8. Findings	52
8.1. Non-progressives and Unclear cases	53
8.2. Active vs. Passive.....	55
8.3. Distribution of progressive forms	56

8.4. Modal + progressive.....	58
8.5 <i>Be going to</i> + infinitive	61
8.6. Stative verbs and the progressive.....	63
8.6.1 Think	67
8.6.2 Be	68
8.6.3 Have	69
8.6.4 Become	70
8.6.5 Enjoy.....	70
8.6.6 Feel	72
8.6.7 Find	72
8.6.8 Hear	73
8.6.9 Hope	75
8.6.10 Want	77
8.6.11 Verbs that occur once.....	78
8.7 Other verbs in the data	84
8.8 Special meanings of the progressive	87
8.8.1 The always-type progressive.....	88
9. Summary and discussion	91
10. Conclusion	96

1. Introduction

We employ a complex system of grammatical components to communicate the wide range of activities and feelings that we encounter every day. To describe an activity that is for instance in progress, temporary or dynamic, the progressive is used; and due to its multiple uses, it is a popular construction in contemporary English language. The progressive in English is comprised of a form of the verb *be* followed by a participle that ends in *-ing* (e.g. He *is coming* from school), and it occurs in different forms or tenses, as in *We have been going to school*. The use of the progressive in English has increased overall in the last centuries, which has been established by various corpus-studies with different viewpoints of the construction, some of the most recent ones being for example Collins (2008, 2009), Hundt (2004) Smith (2002, 2005), and Smitterberg (2005).

Multiple reasons have been suggested for this increase, and perhaps the most commonly accepted one is the growing use of the construction with stative verbs, which is not permitted according to traditional grammar rules. For example the verb *know* denotes a fixed state and thus cannot be used in the progressive: **She is knowing the answer*. However, there are exceptions to this rule, and indeed, stative verbs are being used more and more with the progressive in present day English. In addition, the progressive passive (*The house is being built*) is seen as affecting the development of the progressive, as is its expansion to new categories of meaning.

Some accounts have considered American English to lead the rapid growth of the progressive, and this is, by and large, the general conception of the matter. However, for instance Collins (2008 and 2009) has found that it is in fact other varieties of English that are on the rise with respect to progressive use, and they surpass British and American English in many areas. In the 2008 study, varieties from the so-called outer circle, i.e. countries like Singapore where English is an

official language, were also included, and were found to be one of the most innovative regional varieties.

Scottish English (ScE) has also been suggested as being a leading variety when it comes to using the progressive. Scottish English is known to use more of the progressive and indeed more freely than many other varieties of English and it can therefore be considered rather innovative in that sense. Scottish English is a distinct variety on the British Isles that also has a great deal of variation inside it, both social and regional, which is partly owing to the existence of Scots and Scottish Gaelic in the country. In addition to having a rather unique linguistic situation, Scotland has always retained its strong sense of national as well as cultural identity, which again may be reflected in the way Scottish English has developed. Scottish English has a distinctive phonology, lexicon and grammar, but naturally some aspects of them are also shared with British English and other Celtic Englishes (Irish English and Welsh English). Indeed, these factors make Scottish English hard to define, and as Miller puts it, it can be “as tricky as the party game in which, blindfolded, you have to pin a tail on the drawing of a donkey” (1993, 99). For the purposes of this study, I shall try, however.

In my study I will focus particularly on the nonstandard uses of the progressive - although nonstandard is admittedly a wavering concept - such as the cases when it occurs with a stative verb. The aim of my study is, with the help of corpus data, to account for the nonstandard uses of the progressive in Scottish English from different perspectives and look for possible patterns of usage. Additionally, I will attempt to shed light on why the progressive seems to be such a popular construction in Scottish English. All tenses of the progressive will be analysed (present-, past-, present perfect- and past perfect progressive), and a short overview of the *be going to*-construction is also provided. However, the progressive passive will not be discussed in any great detail as that would widen the scope of the study excessively. I will also analyse the functions and meanings of the

progressive in ScE, and hope to find innovative uses that can perhaps partly explain the rise in the use of progressives in English. My study discusses the following research questions:

- 1) How is the progressive construction used in contemporary ScE?
- 2) What kinds of nonstandard progressives are used in ScE and in what contexts, and is nonstandard use common?
- 3) What kinds of factors possibly affecting the increase of progressive use are evident in ScE?
- 4) What possible reasons are there behind progressive use over the simple form in ScE?

To answer these questions, firstly a thorough look into the progressive (its meanings and functions, what is interesting about the progressive) is required, as well as a description of Scottish English with a look at its history and characteristics for example. In addition to this, several earlier studies need to be consulted in the course of the study. For a linguistic study of this type authentic language material is crucial, and therefore the spoken part of *The Scots Corpus of Text and Speech* is employed. After the background information for the study is presented, a careful analysis of the progressives in Scottish English can be conducted and the results discussed. In the following, Scottish English is first described with respect to its history and characteristics, after which the progressive is defined from different perspectives. Then, the materials and methods of the thesis are explained, followed by the findings and results. Finally, the study is concluded by a summary and discussion as well as the final conclusion.

2. English in Scotland

The English spoken in Scotland differs from Standard British English in its phonology, lexis and morphology, and regional variation is widely present. It should be noted at the outset that the use of the terms *Scottish Standard English*, *Scottish English* and *Scots* (or *Traditional Scots*, *Broad Scots*) can itself be risky and confusing. As Fiona Douglas states, the term *Scottish English* can nowadays be used as a general expression to cover all the different varieties used in Scotland ranging from Scots to Scottish Standard English (Douglas 2006, 45), and that is the way the term will also be used in this paper.

The complex language situation of Scottish English can best be explained by a linguistic continuum: at one end there is Broad Scots and at the other end is Scottish Standard English (Anderson 2006, 11). The language is used along this continuum by alternating between forms of the Scottish Standard English end for certain situations, more formal ones perhaps, and Broad Scots then for some other situations. Issues such as social class and education naturally play a role in the choice between the varieties as well (see figure 1 below). Anderson points out that unlike with Scottish Standard English, at the Scots end of the continuum we do not only have one variety, but many: for example *Doric* spoken in the northeast, the literary variety *Lallans* ('Lowlands') and the urban dialects of Edinburgh and Glasgow, among others (Anderson 2006, 12). Jane Stuart-Smith distinguishes four separate dialect areas in Scotland following *The Scottish National Dictionary*, reflecting their geographical distribution: Mid or Central Scots, Southern or Border Scots, Northern Scots (Doric), and Insular Scots (Stuart-Smith 2004, 47). In writing Standard Scottish English differs little from Standard British English, although some typically Scottish lexis may be used.

Another issue that linguists have tried to ascertain is whether to consider Scots a language of its own or just a dialect of English, as the line between the two is often unclear. According to the

Scots Language Centre website,¹ the *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages* has recognised Scots as a language; even if it must be considered that today it is principally a spoken language with regional varieties. Taking this into account, Scots is a distinct language but as a part of the continuum with Scottish Standard English, and so it will be treated in this study as well. Douglas (2006, 42) makes a valid point by saying that linguistically perhaps, Scots can be considered a type of English, but ideologically it cannot.

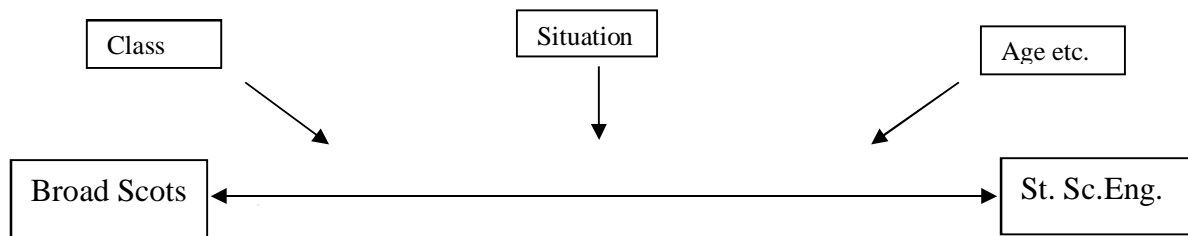


Figure 1. The Scottish English continuum.

2.1. Historical Considerations

To comprehend the English of Scotland at present some historical background needs to be touched upon. Scotland has a diverse cultural and linguistic history, with English, Scots and Scottish Gaelic all mixed in together in the country today. It is therefore important to consider some aspects of how the two main varieties, Scottish Standard English and Scots, developed and acquired their current statuses. However, the focus of my study is not a historical one, and a mere sketch of the historical aspect will have to suffice here. As said by Jim Miller, Scots is distinct from other non-standard varieties of English in that it was the language of the Scottish court until the year 1603 when James

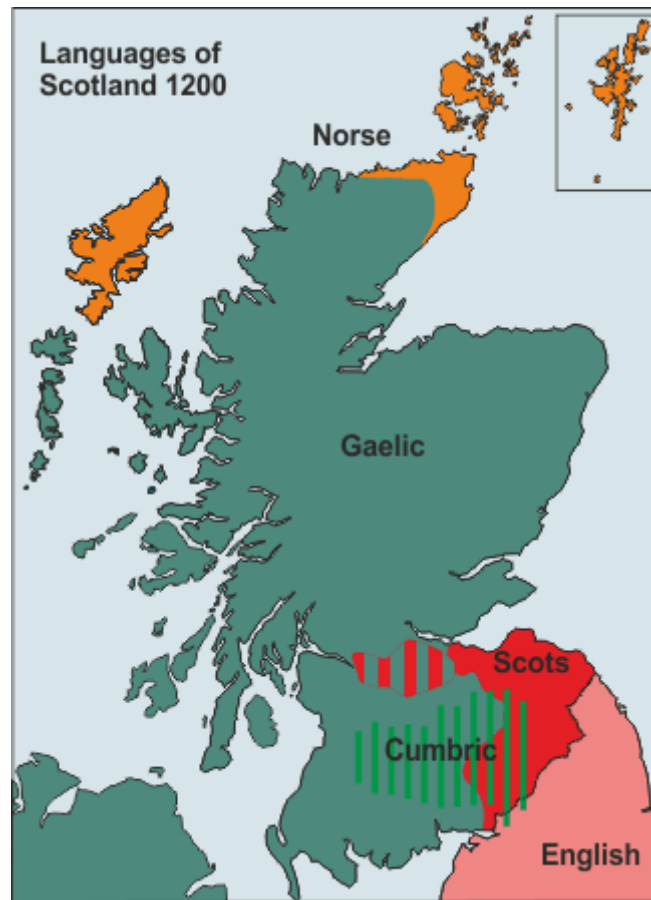
¹ <http://www.scotslanguage.com/>

VI became king of England. Scots was used also in the government and in literature, but it declined after the Scottish court moved to London, and perhaps even more importantly, after the English Bible was introduced instead of one in the Scots language (Miller 1993, 101). Poetry remained as a literary medium of Scots, which was important for Scottish English, as many words and phrases have lived on in the speech of Scottish people because of that (ibid.).

Today Scots is mainly spoken in Lowland Scotland, the Northern Isles and in some parts of Ulster, and according to Karl Inge Sandred, it has descended from “a northern variety which goes back to Old Northumbrian, the variety spoken by the Angles who settled north of the Humber” (Sandred 1983, 13). As Modern Standard English has developed further south mainly from an East Midland dialect of Middle English, the origins of the two varieties are different (ibid.). Northumbrian is an Old English dialect that is the predecessor of both Scots and modern Northern English dialects, which accounts for the large common core of features still evident in the varieties. It is largely because of these historical aspects that Scots is often considered a dialect of English (Douglas 2006, 42). In the 10th century, Scots was a minority language as Gaelic had a dominant position in Scotland. At this time Scandinavian was also spoken in parts of the country, leaving only the southeast to the Northumbrians who spoke English, or what we now call Scots (Sandred 1983, 13). As the number of English speakers increased in southern Scotland, English (or *Inglis* as the variety in Scotland was starting to be known) became stronger with the success of both Norman French and Gaelic declining (Douglas 2006, 43). As we can see in map 1 below that depicts the language situation in 1200, Scandinavian (or Norse) had moved to the most northern parts of Scotland, Scots was spoken in the Southeast and Gaelic was the dominant language in the country. Also some Cumbric, a variety of a Celtic British Language, was still spoken at that point, but it was nearly extinct.²

² <http://newsnetscotland.com/index.php/affairs-scotland/1541-a-history-of-scottish-languages-part-6>

In the following centuries the English language spread out in Scotland, a process which was helped by the founding of the *burghs*, meaning centres of trade. Gaelic moved north to the Highlands where it is nowadays spoken, and the Scandinavian language is thought to have died out in the 18th century (Sandred 1983, 13). David Crystal points out that this resulted in Scottish English becoming distinctively different from the English in England, both phonetically and lexically, with many Gaelic words such as *bog* and *glen* being assimilated in the language (Crystal 1988, 216). As mentioned before, originally the Scots used the collective term *Inglis* to refer to the varieties spoken on both sides of the border, but in the late 15th century the Scots began to make a distinction between their distinct variety and *Inglis* (Douglas 2006, 44). According to Suzanne Romaine, it was in 1494 that the term *Scottis* was introduced by a Scotsman called Adam Loutfut to separate the term from English and Gaelic. The effective nationalism in Scotland in the medieval period helped to strengthen the English of Scotland in all communicative areas, and it started to replace French at an early stage (Romaine 1984, 57).



Map 1. Languages of Scotland in 1200.

(<http://newsnetscotland.com/index.php/affairs-scotland/1541-a-history-of-scottish-languages-part-6>)

2.1.1. Anglicization

During this period of growth of Scots, there was still a close contact with the English spoken in the north of England, as well as between Edinburgh and London through merchants and diplomats, which helped the spread of linguistic developments from London to Scotland. Because of the “large common core” that Scots and English shared, the two became largely mutually intelligible, and the number of borrowings from English to Scots increased (Romaine 1984, 57). Scottish literature was flourishing at this stage too, but Romaine has made the observation that the practice of anglicising texts (i.e. changing words to make them conform better to the English language) began rather early in poetry, where it became popular for Anglicisms and Scots to appear side by side in some types of

verse. This led to English words creeping into Scottish writing in increasing numbers, with printers making the situation worse by anglicising Scottish texts (Romaine 1984, 58). Interestingly, it was not only the literature that was being influenced by English, but Scottish aristocrats were also becoming anglicized (ibid.) as the two countries were in interaction. Moreover, a polarized situation began to develop between the two languages, and the use of pure Scottish styles of speaking and writing were considered colloquial and lower-class, whereas the upper classes of Scotland would speak and write in Standard or “Southern” English (ibid.).

It should be noted that important political events such as the before mentioned Union of Crowns in 1603 and the Union of Parliaments in 1707 affected Scottish English in various ways. Sandred points out, though, that these developments in the language did not take place merely because of political reasons, but rather because of social aspects and attitudes towards the southern neighbour (Sandred 1983, 15). The “cultural climate of correctness and propriety” (Romaine 1984, 61) of 18th century Britain applauded everything that followed the literate London standards and did not accept anything deviant of these polite norms. This came to change Scottish English even more, as well as adding to the self-consciousness about the variety as being inferior to Standard English (ibid.). Simon Beattie sums up the situation of English in Scotland at that time by quoting the Scottish philosopher James Beattie in his article “The Other John Sinclair” as follows:

We who live in Scotland are obliged to study English from books, like a dead language. Accordingly, when we write, we write it like a dead language, which we understand, but cannot speak ... We are slaves to the language we write, and are continually afraid of committing *gross* blunders; and, when an easy, familiar, idiomatical phrase occurs, dare not adopt it, if we recollect no authority, for fear of Scotticisms... (James Beattie, 1779, quoted in Beattie 2001, 37).

2.1.2. The Scots Renaissance

Scots was increasingly being used for literary purposes by writers. People such as Robert Fergusson (1750-74), Robert Burns (1759-96) and Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) all contributed to keeping the

language alive by using Scots in their works, with an interest in ordinary people's lives (Romaine 1984, 61). This renaissance of Scots literature is partly linked to Romanticism in Scotland (Sandred 1983, 16), but it is notably an important part of the history of Scots and Scottish literature that still today arouses interest and creates strong feelings in Scottish people and others.

In the 20th century, Scots continued to be used in literature, and some contemporary writers (Hugh MacDiarmid and Sidney Goodsir Smith, to name but two) applied a variety called *Lallans* to their writing, which essentially consisted in mixing old Scottish vocabulary with current forms and coming up with different effects (Romaine 1984, 64). Thus, in a way, linguistic experiments such as this have kept Scots going for a long time, and there are still writers who represent their characters as speaking Scots, or who use it quite happily throughout their novels, such as Irvine Welsh, for instance. However, as Scottish Standard English developed further and became the form used in speech as well as education, Scots has been left slightly in the background, and as Douglas points out, is considered to have a rather low prestige in present-day Scotland (Douglas 2006, 45).

2.2 The Current Linguistic Situation in Scotland

As we expect from what we know of Scotland and its history of language change and contact from the previous sections, describing the Scottish English of today is not an easy task. We come across a complex, intermingled situation of Scottish Standard English and Scots, variants in between, as well as different dialects, which are all used in different situations and vary from one Scottish speaker to another. In addition to English and Scots, Gaelic is also still spoken in some parts of Scotland and according to Stuart-Smith, the English of the Gaelic-speaking areas has some particular characteristics due to this contact of languages (Stuart-Smith 2004, 50). As mentioned before, perhaps the most comprehensible way of approaching the linguistic situation in Scotland is through the idea of a continuum, with Scottish Standard English at one end and traditional Broad Scots at the

other (Anderson 2006, 11). Speakers tend to use different forms along the continuum quite freely according to situation and level of formality (Anderson 2006, 12) and therefore have a large number of possibilities to choose from to modify their language. In addition, traditional Scots words and phrases are often used by people in Scotland who do not speak Scots on a daily basis, for the purpose of making an effect or affirming their Scottish identity, for example.

Douglas points out that while individuals are free to move along the continuum in both directions, bearing in mind issues such as social class and the situation in question; some people will however have “a stronger attraction” to one pole or the other and use mainly the variety in that particular end of the linguistic continuum (Douglas 2006, 45). Therefore, the process of using a continuum is not merely an issue of picking and mixing items of language, but some speakers are inevitably declined to either direction. The Scottish English continuum relates to both written and spoken Scottish English, although as Douglas notes the two are more unattached than one may think, as for example Scots is essentially a spoken variety whose written form is rather different and mainly used by highly educated people (Douglas 2006, 46-47). Taking into consideration all aspects, the idea of a continuum nevertheless accounts for all the different usages of Scottish English in this complex situation that would be hard to explain in any other terms.

As Miller states, different varieties of Broad Scots are commonly spoken in urban environments today. The attitudes towards modern urban Scots can be rather negative however; it is often considered as degenerate compared to the earlier Scots, although urban Scots is not a new, mixed variety, but in fact a systematic one (Miller 1993, 102). Naturally, as any other language variety, Scots has gone through changes over the time of its existence. The changes have taken place mainly in pronunciation and in the loss of some lexical elements, but the basic syntax has remained the same (*ibid.*).

The role of Received Pronunciation (RP) in Scotland is to a certain extent an insignificant one. Even the highest social classes tend to use some typically Scottish elements in their speech, although the educated variety is on the surface very much like RP. Sandred states that RP is used by many native Scots, but mainly by speakers who have received an English public school education. Additionally, the survival of RP in Scotland is largely owing to the history of close connections between the Scottish and the English aristocrats in the 17th century (Sandred 1983, 23-24).

3. Characteristics of Scottish English

Obviously, the intention here is not to give an in-depth analysis of all the different features of Scottish English, but it is undoubtedly a subject that requires addressing. Phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of Scottish English are all commented on in terms of the features that are most distinctive.

3.1. Phonological Characteristics

3.1.1 Consonants in Scottish English

The phonology of Scottish English is perhaps its most renowned characteristic. Having developed in contact with Scots and Northern English dialects for example, the Scottish accent is rather unique among varieties of English. The consonants of Scottish English do not differ drastically from the other varieties of English, but there are however some distinctive sounds in the phonology that are not shared with most other varieties (Douglas 2006, 49). Firstly, Scottish English is a rhotic variety, that is, it has the “retention of post-vocalic /r/ in words such as *car*” (ibid.), although the actual pronunciation of the phoneme varies according to speaker. Macafee mentions that /r/ can either be realized as a tap (especially between vowels), an approximant or a trill, the latter being uncommon in urban speech (Macafee 1983, 32). Obviously, there are other types of Englishes that have retained their rhoticity, most American varieties for instance, but it does however distinguish Scottish language users from most speakers of British Standard English.

Furthermore, Romaine, Douglas and Macafee all point at the use of /x/ instead of the RP /k/ in Gaelic adoptions such as “*loch* ‘lake, bay or arm of the sea’, and *clachan* ‘village’”, a sound that can also occur in *thought* (Romaine 1984, 69), which is another interesting feature. A third point to be added is the voiceless bilabial fricative /ɱ/ which Scots use to differentiate between *Wales* and

whales, which is realized as /f/ in northeastern Scots dialects: “*fit* and *fan* instead of *what* and *when*” (Douglas 2006, 49). According to many linguists, like Douglas for example, some of these Scottish phonemes appear to be wearing away in the urban communities. T-glottaling (the producing of a glottal stop in the place of a /t/ in words such as *butter*) is another common characteristic of Scottish English, as it is of many other varieties today, and as Douglas points out, it is particularly a stereotype of Glaswegian speech (ibid.).

3.1.2. Vowels in Scottish English

When it comes to vowels, Scottish English presents us with some divergence again. Douglas states that it has fewer vowel distinctions than RP, and the distribution of vowels may vary as well (Douglas 2006, 50). The fact that Scottish English has maintained the post-vocalic /r/ has resulted in certain distinctive features such as the differentiation of the three vowels in *first* /ɪ/, *word* /ʌ/, and *heard* /ɛ/, whereas in RP there is only one pronunciation (Romaine 1984, 69). In addition, while RP has two different vowels for *cot* and *caught*, Scottish English only has /ɔ/, as well as for *pull* and *pool* where the vowel is realized as /ʊ/ (Douglas 2006, 50). In Broad Scot the vowel in *house* is also realised as /ʊ/, and it appears to be a feature which, quite interestingly, varies slightly from one speaker to another, and is connected to mainly working class language users (Stuart-Smith 2004, 59).

An explanation for some of the vowel features in Scottish English can be found in the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR) that was already established in the Middle Ages, characterized by Douglas as follows:

The vowels in Scottish English pronunciations of *hit* / ɪ / and *hut* / ʌ / are always short...In most varieties of SE, the length of the other vowels can be predicted according to their phonetic and morphological conditions using the SVLR. Vowels are long before /r/ and voiced fricatives i.e. /v/, /ð/, /z/, /ʒ/, and also before word or morpheme boundaries; in other

environments, they are short. For example, in SE a length distinction can be noted between the vowels in *leaf* [lif] and *leave* [li:v]...(ibid.).

It should be added here that vowels are long before /r/ in “morpheme final position” and elsewhere they are realised as short, thus according to the vowel length rule, the vowels are short for instance in *moon* and *part* (Romaine 1984, 70). Douglas notes, however, that not all varieties of Scottish English conform to the SVLR to the same extent, but the situation is a complex one (Douglas 2006, 50).

3.2. Morphological and Syntactic Characteristics

There are several syntactic structures in Scottish English that differ from those of Standard British English, which are also part of the Scottish English continuum. The structures I intend to present here are used in everyday Scottish English, and are important to note as distinct Scottish English grammatical features in addition to the progressive, which is obviously discussed and studied more deeply in the subsequent sections. What follows is a mere presentation of some of the most common or typical features, not an exhaustive account on all the morphological and syntactic features of Scottish English.

3.2.1. Irregular Verbs

Jim Miller gives an extensive account of Scottish English morphology and syntax in *A Handbook of Varieties of English*. He notes that some verbs may have different irregular forms in Scots and Standard English, such as *seen* in Scots vs. *saw* in Standard English. Here are some examples of the differences in the past tense forms of verbs (Miller 2004, 48):

- 5) *brung* ‘brought’
- 6) *come* ‘came’
- 7) *driv* ‘drove’

8) *sellt* ‘sold’

9) *taen* ‘took’

And some examples from past participles (ibid.):

1) *broke* ‘broken’

2) *feart* ‘frightened’

3) *gave* ‘given’

4) *stole* ‘stolen’

5) *went* ‘gone’

3.2.2. Plural Nouns

According to Miller, the earlier Broad Scots forms such as *een* (‘eyes’) and *shin* (‘shoes’) are disappearing. The forms that are frequent in modern Scottish English are *wifes*, *knifes*, *lifes*, *leafs*, *thiefs*, *dwarfs*, *loafs*, *wolfs*, instead of the standard *wives* etc., meaning that the relationship between singular and plural is regular (Miller 2004, 49).

3.2.3. Pronouns

There is a second person plural *yous* or *yins*, which is very frequent but avoided by educated speakers (Miller 2004, 49). *Us* is used instead of *me*, as in other non-standard varieties of English, especially with verbs such as *give*, *show* and *lend*: e.g. *Can you lend us a quid?* Also, the first person singular possessive pronoun is *mines* instead of *mine* when it is the complement, and it is consistent with the other possessive pronouns with an –s ending: *yours/his/hers/ours/theirs/mines* (Miller 1993, 108). Similarly the reflexive pronouns have been made uniform: *hissel* and *theirselves* are used instead of *himself* and *themselves*, being on the same pattern as *yoursel*, *hersel*, *mysel* and *oursel*. In the example *Me and Jimmy are on on Monday our two selves* the word *two* is inserted

between *our* and *selves*, which may make us wonder whether the reflexive pronouns should be regarded as two separate words (ibid.).

3.2.4. Number Agreement

Plural nouns in Scottish English usually combine with *is* and *was* (Miller 2004, 49):

- 1) *The windies wiz aw broken.* ('The windows were all broken.')
- 2) *The lambs is oot the field.* ('The lambs are out of the field.')
- 3) *There's no bottles.*
- 4) *Is there any biscuits left?*

Miller notes that *we was* is frequent but *we is* is not found. Educated speakers in Scotland do not use structures such as in examples 1 and 2 that are restricted to mainly broad Scottish English, but it is not uncommon for them to use the existential construction shown by examples 3 and 4 which are fairly frequent in Standard English, too (ibid.).

3.2.5. Negation

In Scots, verbs are negated using the individual words *no* and *not* or by adding *-nae* or *-n't* after the verb, as we can see in the following (Miller 2004, 50):

- 1) A. *She's no leaving.* B. *She's not leaving.*
- 2) A. *She isnae leaving.* B. *She isn't leaving.*

With the verbs *be*, *will* and *shall* the *no/not* construction is the norm in Scottish English, and *nae* is added to all modal verbs and to *do*, as in *he doesnae help in the house* (Miller 2004, 51). The typical tag question in Scots has *no* or *not*, as in *that's miles away is it no?* Also, *never* is used in negative contexts, like in many other nonstandard varieties across Britain, e.g. *I sat down to that tongue slips essay at 7 o'clock. I never got it started till nine* (ibid.). Finally, we should note that while *never* is

not used emphatically, the negative construction with *nane* in Scottish English is, as the example demonstrates: *Rab can sing nane* (ibid.).

3.2.6. Modal Verbs

As Miller states, modal verbs have an important role in the grammar of any variety of English, and in Scottish English they differ extensively from Standard English (Miller 1993, 116). One of the major differences is the fact that the verbs *shall*, *may* and *ought to* do not occur in Scots, with the exception of writing and formal announcements to some extent (Miller 2004, 52). With the lack of the verb *shall*, *will* is used in Scottish English, as in Standard English, to express future tense, e.g. *we will arrive in the morning*, promises e.g. *you will have the money tomorrow*, and interrogatives e.g. *will I open the window?* Permission then, is expressed by using *can*, *get to* and *get + gerund*, the latter shown in the following sentence: *they got going to the match* (ibid.). Standard English *ought to* is not used, but the equivalent in ScE is *should*, and *want* is commonly used, too, as in this example from a judo instructor in Miller: *you want to come out and attack right away*. These types of constructions are not often used by educated speakers, however (Miller 1993, 117).

Miller states that *must* is restricted in meaning in Scottish English, as in Broad Scots it only expresses the conclusion meaning, i.e. ‘You must be exhausted’ (from the evidence I conclude that..), whereas the obligation meaning, i.e. ‘You must be at the airport by nine’ (it is necessary to you..) is expressed by using *have to* and *need to* (ibid.). In addition to this, obligation can be expressed in Scottish English by *supposed to* and *meant to*, as in: *you’re supposed to leave your coat in the cloakroom*, and *you’re meant to fill in the form first* (Miller 1993, 119). Double modals are frequent in Scottish English, while in Standard English only one can occur in a certain clause, e.g. *he’ll can help us the morn*, *they might could be working in the shop* (ibid.). Miller suggests that it is

possible that *might* is developing into an adverb, comparable to *maybe*, as the latter example may indicate (Miller 2004, 53).

3.3. Lexical Characteristics

The vocabulary of Scottish English can most definitely cause some confusion among people, even native speakers of English, who are not used to hearing it. One clear characteristic of Scottish words is their high regionalisation; altogether different words are used for the same concept in different parts of the country (*crannie* for the little finger in the North East but *pinkie* in other parts of Scotland; Douglas 2006, 51). Also, looking at the Scots end of the continuum, Scots has no agreed spelling system, but words are often spelled in various different ways (*ibid.*), e.g. *the Dictionary of the Scots Language* gives the word *dreich* the variant spellings of *dreiche* and *drigh* (*DSL* s.v. *dreich*). There is some evidence for the erosion of Scots vocabulary, as there is little introduction of new words to the technical register, for example (Douglas 2006, 52). However, according to Macafee especially middle class Scots are still familiar with a large number of Old Scots lexis through literature (Macafee 1983, 41).

Scottish features seem to form a rather clear boundary along the border with England, although there are some influences in Southern Scottish English from the most northern part of England as well as from Edinburgh and Glasgow (Romaine 1984, 68). Although we consider certain words particularly Scottish, the actual categorisation of this type is in fact difficult. This can be seen in the way dictionaries use regional labels to determine if a word is Scottish or English; for instance, the originally Scottish word *wee* has become known outside Scotland as well, and Scotland is not always mentioned in connection with it (Norri 1996, 18). The labels that dictionaries use for Scottish words range from *Scottish*, *chiefly Scottish* to *Scottish and northern English* for example, and we cannot always be certain about the correctness of the label. Jim Miller points out that Scottish English also

shares many lexical features with varieties of Northern English, such as *bide* ('stay'), but there are a number of characteristics that are still regarded as typically Scottish by Scottish English speakers. According to Miller, “Scottish English may share one construction with Tyneside English, a second with Hiberno-English and a third with the West-Midlands, but it may be alone in possessing all three constructions”, and therefore we should view the geographical varieties of nonstandard English as a set of constructions that can cross and overlap each other (Miller 1993, 99).

4. Defining the Progressive

The construction in English consisting of a form of the verb *to be* followed by a present participle (i.e. the *-ing* form) of a verb (e.g. *I am walking*) has been referred to by many different names by linguists. Römer notes for instance the labels ‘continuous’, ‘expanded’, ‘durative’ and ‘periphrastic’ -form are widely used in research, and they all represent slightly varied ways of dealing with the construction (2005, 1). Sometimes the term *progressive form* has been applied, but according to Scheffer it is not satisfactory, since the progressive *is writing* is no more a form of *write* than *shall write*, *will write*, *have written* or *had written* (1975, 1). In this study the term *progressive form* comes up when describing the various forms of the progressive, for example past progressive *he was sleeping*. All the labels undoubtedly have their benefits and shortcomings, but in this study, the term *progressive* will be used, alongside with *non-progressive* referring to other verbal forms. The progressive is a widely used term, and a very suitable one seeing that it denotes an action in process which is one of the basic meanings of the construction. The progressive has a wide range of uses, and according to Williams, many other European languages such as French and Italian have a much more restricted progressive (2002, 27).

The progressive expresses progressive aspectuality, a semantic category that is connected with various meanings, including progressivity, imperfectivity and dynamicity (Collins 2008, 226). Aspect can be understood as the *type* or *character* of a certain action, and it will be explained more thoroughly in section 4.2. The progressive has other meanings, too, some of which are non-aspectual, discussed further in the following sections. Sometimes the progressive has been compared to a film, when the non-progressive is like a photograph. This refers to the kind of situations that the progressive typically tends to portray; as Collins implies, namely ones that are progressing through

time, with an internal temporal structure, often slowing down the situation metaphorically. Consider (1), from a narrative about an earthquake experience, from Collins (ibid.):

- (1) *I was getting dizzy and then when I woke up my fan was shaking my whole bed was shaking as in the whole fan was swaying left to right*

Progressive aspectuality has also been seen from the point of view of ‘framing’, meaning that the progressive functions as a ‘temporal frame’ to another situation, including a reference point (being *when I woke up* in example (1)). It is added however that more often the progressive co-occurs with another temporal reference point than frames it, as in (2) (Collins 2008, 227):

- (2) ...And uh we’re *pulling* up and I see this girl who I’d never seen before...

Moreover, the progressive is considered to present situations as susceptible to change, i.e. expressing the same kind of imperfectivity as the simple form but suggesting a greater degree of temporariness (Collins 2009, 117). However, according to Collins the fact that the progressive also has non-aspectual uses restricts thoughts of a ‘unitary’ or ‘basic’ meaning for the construction, and therefore susceptibility to change cannot be considered to be the basic meaning for the progressive, as for instance Williams (2002) has seen the matter (2008, 226).

A form of *to be* + present participle cannot rightfully be called a progressive if it is adjectival in meaning, i.e. the progressive is the verbal predicate in the sentence (Scheffer 1975, 6). On the surface the construction is the same, but their meanings are obviously different; consider the words *charming* and *irritating*, for instance. However, as Scheffer adds it is generally not difficult to make a distinction between progressives and adjectival constructions; for instance the progressive can be

replaced by a non-progressive (i.e. he is walking – he walks) which is not similarly possible with adjectival –ing forms (ibid.).

Scheffer states also that the two elements in a progressive construction need to be closely connected for it to be considered a progressive, although some grammarians are not very strict about this (1975, 7). Cases such as the *progressif inversé* are, with some reservations, considered progressives (see example (3)), as are sentences with *there* as a formal subject (example (4)) (Scheffer 1975, 8):

- (3) *Watching* him *is* his 13 month-old daughter
- (4) There *was* a small lamp *burning* inside the room

It can be argued, however, that the connection between the verb *be* and the present participle is inevitably strong in most cases. Scheffer points out that sometimes the present participle of the progressive can be left out altogether without it being mentioned before, as the missing component can be retrieved from the context, as in (5) (1975, 11). Furthermore, sometimes the context is missing, too, yet the listener can understand the meaning, as in (6) (Scheffer 1975, 14):

- (5) As guests of France it would not be proper for us to comment on it, and nobody is.
- (6) Bishop: Would you like a glass of sherry, Archdeacon?
Archdeacon: Oh Bishop...are you?

4.1. The Progressive and Verbs

The progressive is a widespread grammatical construction, especially in speech, but there are some restrictions as to how it can be used. Some verbs do not normally take the progressive, although it seems that some change may have happened lately in these limitations. Essentially, the progressive can only be used with non-stative (i.e. dynamic) verbs, and conversely stative verbs such as *know* cannot normally be used in the progressive, as we can see here:

- (7) I know the truth
- (8) **I'm knowing* the truth

Leech and Svartvik state that the verbs that most typically occur in the progressive are *activity* verbs, such as *walk, drink, work*, verbs referring to *processes* such as *change, grow, improve*; and verbs denoting *momentary events*, which imply repetition in the progressive: *knock, jump, kick* (2002, 75). Furthermore, as the 'event in progress' meaning cannot usually be applied to states such as *know*, the verbs that normally do not occur in the progressive include: verbs of *perceiving* (e.g. *feel, see, taste*), verbs referring to *a state of mind or feeling* (e.g. *believe, adore, desire*) and verbs referring to *a relationship or a state of being* (e.g. *be, belong to, concern*). It is mentioned that the latter group of verbs is used non-progressively even when the situation can be seen as a temporary state, such as in the sentence *I'm hungry* (Leech and Svartvik 2002, 75-76).

Williams points out that some stative verbs may occasionally be used with the progressive when they are considered non-stative in the sentence, as in (9), or on some other occasions such as when expressing irony or comical effects (10) (2002, 28-29):

- (9) Jill's really *loving* her German course
- (10) *Am I seeing* things or is George actually wearing a tie today?

In the rather rare situations where the progressive is used with a stative verb it usually suggests temporariness instead of a permanent feature, as in *she is being evasive* (Quirk et al. 1985, 209). In other words, when a stative verb is in the progressive, there is often some change in meaning in the sentence. Moreover, Smith acknowledges the idea of stativity as a continuum (originally Sag 1973), rather than a choice between two strict categories (2005, 60). Leech and Svartvik note that verbs referring to an internal sensation can be used both in the progressive and the non-progressive with no

evident difference in meaning or effect. Examples of those verbs are *hurt*, *feel* and *ache* (see example (11)) (2002, 76). In some cases there is an ‘equivalent’ activity verb for stative verbs, such as *look at* for *see* and *listen to* for *hear*, and those are used in the progressive. This is not true of all stative verbs though, and therefore many verbs express both activity as well as state (example 12) (ibid.). The verb *be* can occur in the progressive, too, when it is followed by a word denoting a type of behaviour or role a person is presenting (example 13) (Leech and Svartvik 2002, 77).

- (11) My back *hurts*/My back *is hurting*.
- (12) We’ve *been tasting* the soup. It *tastes* delicious.
- (13) He’s just *being* awkward.

Additionally, Quirk et al. point out stance verbs, such as *live*, *stand*, *sit* and *lie* that are also in-between dynamic and stative verbs, and therefore when used in the non-progressive they express permanent states and when in the progressive the sense of limited duration is again strongly present (1985, 205-206). Consider the following:

- (14) I live in London.
- (15) Right now I *am living* in London.

There has been significant increase in progressives in the last decades, especially in spoken English. One suggested reason is in fact the loosening of the rules governing the use of the progressive, and as Scheffer states, especially its spread to verbs that normally do not go with the construction (1975, 68). This is an interesting factor for this study, and the increase of progressive use will be commented further later on.

4.2. Tense and Aspect

As mentioned earlier, the progressive expresses aspectuality, among other things. To introduce the term aspect, a rather clear and all-embracing explanation is needed. Comrie describes aspects as

“different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (1976, 3). Leech and Svartvik state that “by tense we understand the correspondence between the form of the verb and our concept of time (past, present, or future)...Aspect concerns the manner in which a verbal situation is experienced or regarded, for example as complete or in progress” (2002, 415). Scheffer maintains that aspect is not a formal, morphological category, but it is expressed by various different constituents in the sentence in addition to the verb. Aspect can be interpreted as the type or character of the action in question, and as a result the progressive can be said to express aspect; i.e. the durative aspect among other meanings (1975, 20). To understand the differences between the non-progressive and the progressive we must consider aspect, tense and time. This helps us in determining why the progressive is chosen in some situations over the non-progressive, for example.

Time is an extralinguistic concept, and for this study it suffices to say that language is connected to time, often through tenses or time adverbials for example. According to Williams, tense is “concerned with the way a language locates situations in time; it is the grammatical expression of location in time” (2002, 31). Many grammarians do not see the progressive as being an issue of tense. Scheffer (1975, 17) states that tense expresses temporal verb-relations, but its connection to the progressive is merely ancillary. Römer agrees, as well as most linguists, that the progressive is above all an aspectual phenomenon. Utterances in the past progressive for instance do not express a different time orientation to the past simple as such; they rather emphasize certain distinct aspects of the sentence (e.g. continuousness, speaker attitude) that the simple form necessarily does not (2005, 20). In other words, Williams points out that the difference between the sentences *I’ve gone* and *I went* is one of tense; whereas the difference between *I went* and *I was going* is one of aspect. The past simple and the past progressive are not different tenses, as they do not differ in temporal collocation but aspectually (2002, 35). We can say that the present- and past tense distinction exists

in the progressive aspect as well, but aspectuality is the key factor in distinguishing the progressive from the non-progressive, not tense or time.

4.3. The Progressive Passive

The progressive passive has increased considerably in recent British English, and therefore it is included in this study as well, although the main interest here is on how the progressive is used in Scottish English, not on separate forms of the progressive. It is expected however that the Scottish English corpus data also contains some progressives in the passive, and consequently there is no reason to completely discard them, which is why a short description is given here. Marianne Hundt explains that the progressive passive is a construction which has the passive auxiliary *be* together with the progressive auxiliary *being*, as in the examples below from her study (2009, 289):

- (16) The tradition *is being carried out*...
- (17) I was beginning to feel like I *was being interrogated*

Smith states that there is apparently no special meaning attached to the progressive passive, but it is simply described to have the “in progress”-meaning of the progressive combined with the meaning of the passive, i.e.” presenting a situation from the perspective of an affected participant” (2005, 123). The progressive passive is a rather late development in English, and as many other new linguistic phenomena, it received a fair amount of opposition and suspicion in its time. Smith adds that the plain hostility from grammarians who judged the progressive passive not only as ungrammatical but also unnecessary slowed down the acceptance of the construction. Before the middle of the nineteenth century there was an alternative active form for the progressive passive which was used for the same purposes (illustrated in (18)) but was quickly replaced by the progressive passive (ibid.).

- (18) The house *is building* (as opposed to *the house is being built*)

Smith, among other linguists, show that especially the present progressive passive has increased consistently in recent times, when non-progressive passives have declined (2005, 126). This is interesting as the progressive passive in fact appears more in formal language than in speech. There are alternative constructions for the progressive passive that seem rather popular, too, namely the progressive of the *get*-passive (e.g. *I'm getting paid* tomorrow), but those are not significant for the purpose of this study as such. Yet, because of the popularity and increase of the *get*-passive it is expected that a significant amount is also to be found in the data.

5. The Meanings of the Progressive

This chapter focuses on the meanings of the progressive in present-day English. In the title it becomes clear that we are dealing with more than one meaning, as this approach to me is more reasonable than aspiring to find one basic meaning that covers all aspects of the construction. Smith divides present-day progressive meanings into two main groups: aspectual meanings and “special meanings” (2005, 20). The division is rather straight-forward, and as it is stated it accounts for all the central features of progressivity (aspectual meanings) as well as other, more subjective, meanings of the progressive (*ibid.*). Therefore, the presentation of the meanings of the progressive here follows Smith’s description, with references to other works, too. I will present here the meanings which are considered most important, and therefore a handful of features that Smith mentions have been left without deeper discussion, namely temporal frame (mentioned shortly in section 1 example (1)), incompleteness, and anaphoric use. Smith explains the two latter terms as follows: incompleteness implies that “the time referred to by the progressive excludes the beginning and end boundaries of the situation”, and in anaphoric use “the predication in *-ing* refers to another (usually antecedent) entity which may be either explicit or implicit” (2005, 26). In fact, as Smith mentions, anaphoric use largely overlaps the so-called interpretive use, which is introduced in this study as well (2005, 27). It must also be noted that not all meanings have to be present at a certain time, but some elements of meaning are more important in certain situations when some others are not as significant (Quirk et al. 1985, 198).

5.1. Aspectual Meanings

Aspectual meanings (i.e. reflecting the way a situation is viewed) are regarded as some of the most basic and typical of the progressive. If not all, at least some of these meanings are mentioned by most

linguists as the meanings of the progressive. Aspectual meanings, discussed in the following, include situation in progress/ongoingness, imperfectivity, durativity, dynamicity and temporariness.

5.1.1. Situation in progress/ongoingness

Ongoingness or “situation in progress” is often cited as the central meaning of the progressive. As Smith puts it, “the situation referred to started before the time of reference and is expected to continue into the future”. The rules as to what kind of situations can be deemed as being ‘in progress’ in English are rather flexible, and can include many types of sentences, such as ongoing habits for example (20) (Smith 2005, 21):

- (19) Mum *is cooking* breakfast
- (20) The kids *are swimming* on Fridays this term

Not all linguists agree on the central role of the “situation in progress” meaning, though. Smith notes that cases such as (21) and (22) have been presented as problematic by some linguists when considering this meaning (ibid). Special meanings exemplified below will be discussed in section 5.2.

- (21) You *are forgetting* your manners
- (22) Not in June! I *’ll be having* my baby in June!

5.1.2. Imperfectivity

Smith explains imperfectivity with reference to Comrie (1976) who was the first linguist to consider progressivity as a subcategory of imperfectivity, implying a situation that is viewed from within by the speaker. On the contrary, perfectivity refers to a situation in which the speaker does not, unlike with imperfectivity, focus on the internal structure of the situation but views it from the outside as an entity (Smith 2005, 22). Williams describes imperfectivity further by saying that it is something (potentially) incomplete, and may or may not be interrupted at some point (2002, 42). Often the non-

progressive is seen as perfective, when the progressive is seen as imperfective, but Williams and Smith both seem to disagree. A more current view may be that the situation is more complex, and the non-progressive is perfective in some instances and imperfective in others (Williams 2002, 43). Examples of the perfective (23) and imperfective (24) cases are presented below, from Williams (2002, 43):

- (23) I declare this meeting open (situation preformed ‘in its entity’)
- (24) I’m *declaring* this meeting open (not a ‘complete’ declaration)

5.1.3. Durativity

Scheffer argues that duration is stated most often as one of the basic meanings of the progressive, and sometimes even as the only one (1975, 21). He admits, though, that there are problems with assigning durativity as the basic meaning (1975, 23), and certainly more recent works consulted for this study present durativity merely as one of the central meanings of the progressive, giving it no actual emphasis over others. Ota expresses durativity by stating that it is essentially a process that has a certain length, i.e. a situation that has duration (1963, 62). Therefore, duration is not only confined to progressives, but non-progressive sentences can be durative, too, such as in (25) (Smith 2005, 22). Smith points out that the English progressive can also occur with non-durative verbs, such as *jump* (example (26)), in which case the situation is not viewed as in progress but rather as repetitive.

- (25) They were in love
- (26) She *was jumping* in the garden

5.1.4. Dynamicity

Dynamicity entails the presence of change (Smith 2005, 23). Stative verbs are generally resistant to the progressive in English, while dynamic verbs are widely used. Smith states, as mentioned before, that if some feature of the situation can be seen as having dynamicity (e.g. if there is limited time concerned), even stative verbs can lose their resistance to the progressive (ibid.) (example (27) from Smith).

- (27) *Is anyone wanting to be served?*

5.1.5. Temporariness

Temporariness is sometimes mentioned as the most basic meaning of the progressive, along with duration, as it is a distinguishing feature between the non-progressive and the progressive (Smith 2005, 23). Compare the examples from Smith:

- (28) Which team *are* you *supporting*? (at this particular match)
 (29) Which team do you support? (in general)

Permanent or incessant situations can also be used in the progressive, especially with certain adverbs (e.g. *always*), when there is often a certain attitude involved (Smith 2005, 23-24) (more in section 8.8.1 on the always-type progressive):

- (30) *She's always getting* into trouble

5.2. Special Meanings

Many linguists use 'special meanings' as an umbrella term for other meanings of the progressive that are usually more expressive and subjective than the central aspectual meanings. In other words,

following Smith, special meanings are features that do not convey aspectual meaning, and include *interpretive*, *futurate*, *future-as-matter-of-course* and *emotive/attitudinal* uses (2005, 26). Smith states that the two functions special meanings convey in a general sense are *expressive* or *pragmatic* and *futurate* functions. Essentially, the expressive or pragmatic functions combine “a high degree of subjective expression by the speaker/writer, including various types of attitude, emotion or other implied meanings”, whereas the futurate use simply points to present progressives that refer to future time (2005, 105).

Smith notes that there are differing opinions on whether aspectuality is connected to any of the special meanings, but it is probable that a trace of the ‘in progress’ meaning is indeed found in many of them (2005, 29.). This view is supported by Smitterberg for instance, who labels progressives with special meaning, in this sense rather fittingly, ‘not-solely-aspectual progressives’ (2005, 207). He adds they are not as widely researched as the aspectual functions of the progressive, because they are rarer and do not therefore cumulate quantitative data in a significant way (ibid.). Indeed, expressive uses are still clearly a minority, when aspectual functions hold their status as the “main” functions of the progressive. However, as the present study looks at the progressive from a usage-based viewpoint focusing on a certain variety of English, the special meanings are naturally included and commented on.

5.2.1. Interpretive use

The interpretive use includes instances where “the clause in the progressive explains or interprets a situation with which the addressee is assumed to be familiar, either because it is mentioned explicitly or inferrable from the linguistic or situational context” (Smith 2005, 27). Collins adds that in the interpretive use “the speaker’s concern is with explaining or clarifying what someone says or does” (c.f. (31)) (2009, 120). Smith finds the interpretive use particularly interesting because there is

disagreement on whether it should be defined with semantic and syntactic or pragmatic features. Additionally, it has been found in all kinds of texts, unlike the emotive uses for instance (see section 5.2.3) (ibid.). In example (32) from Smith the situation is being explicitly referred to (“when she took the money”) and therefore it is known to the addressee:

- (31) *Are* you sort of *saying* music’s a funny game
 (32) When she says she took the money, she *is lying*

Smith has studied the interpretive use further, because it has been named as one of the factors influencing the increase in progressive use. He states that interpretives are said to lack the most common aspectual meanings, and to indicate more speaker subjectivity than other uses of the progressive (2005, 166).

5.2.2. Futurate progressive and future-as-a-matter-of-course

The futurate progressive and future-as-a-matter-of-course meanings refer to situations happening in the future, exemplified in (33) and (34), respectively (from Smith 2005, 28).

- (33) John *is leaving* town tomorrow
 (34) John *will be leaving* town tomorrow

According to Smith the futurate progressive (example (33)) expresses that some plans or arrangements for the future have been made (ibid.). Collins states that in the future-as-a-matter-of-course type then, the progressive suggests that “the situation is inevitable, a matter of course”, which is clear from example (34), too (Collins 2009, 121). The futurate and future-as-a-matter-of-course do not belong in the category of expressive/pragmatic functions, but they are nonetheless “special in meaning” in that they express something more than aspectuality.

5.2.3. Emotive/attitudinal use

The progressive is often used to indicate emotions or attitudes. Smith mentions some uses of this type, one of them being the “always-type” progressive, where an adverbial semantically corresponding to *always* occurs (cf. (35)) (2005, 28). Also, the tentative/downtoning use is noted, cf. (36). The emotive and attitudinal uses of the progressive have been suggested to be on the rise, as have some other special meanings. Smith points out that the emotive/attitudinal use is particularly common in conversation (ibid.). Examples from Smith (2005, 28):

- (35) *You're always whingeing.*
- (36) *I'm hoping to get a rise next year.*

Indeed, *the emotive/attitudinal use* underlines the fact that often the progressive in general expresses more emotion or attitude in the sentence than the simple form does. With regard to the always-type progressive it seems to carry mostly, but not always, some negative implications. According to Smitterberg, “the pattern often expresses a negative evaluation of the situation in which the progressive occurs, and the implication is then usually that the continual recurrence of the situation is a source of irritation” (2005, 210). Smith notes that exaggeration or subjectivity in general is strongly present in the always-type progressive, so that the speaker “metaphorically treats the situation *as if* it is happening or repeating constantly” (2005, 110). *The tentative/downtoning use* then, is often found in polite situations where a hedging and softening of comments is needed.

6. Historical development of the progressive in English

As we are dealing with the rapid increase and the current status of the construction, some historical aspects of the progressive in English need to be touched upon, but no in-depth analysis will be presented here. We can start by saying that the progressive is by no means a new phenomenon. According to Scheffer, it has occurred in various ancient languages, such as Sanskrit and Latin for example. The meaning of the construction at the time is not clear, but imperfectivity and duration have possibly been the main ones. In English, the progressive has occurred since Old English times, which is logical as Latin had an important influence on the English language. However, the possibility that the form is originally Germanic must be noted, too, as Indo-European for instance had an elaborate aspect system. It is more than likely that the progressive existed in Old English already before English writers came across Latin texts, which reinforced the use of the construction (1975, 131). Scheffer adds that some occurrences of the progressive are found in Old English poetry and prose, but its use was rare and unsystematic, and its meaning and functions were certainly not as clear as they are today (1975, 179).

Williams states that even in the Early Modern English period the frequency of the progressives was low, and it was not until the beginning of the Modern English period that the use of the progressive increased dramatically. The reason for this is uncertain, but it has been suggested that the use of the participle as a noun governed by the preposition *on* affected the rise in progressive use (2002, 39). Thus, as illustrated by the example from Baugh and Cable, the sentence *he was on laughing* weakened to *he was a-laughing* and finally to *he was laughing* (Baugh and Cable, quoted in Williams 2002, 39). At this point we have to take into consideration language contact as a probable influencing factor on British English. Smith remarks that American English has affected British English especially in the twentieth century, and therefore we can expect that, in addition to

vocabulary, some grammatical constructions have spread across the Atlantic through language contact (2005, 15). The progressive may have been one of the patterns that have increased in the UK because of the contact with America.

It has indeed been generally concluded that the construction is used more in American English than it is in British English, but Scheffer notes that many of the people immigrating into the USA in the 19th century were Scottish and Irish. Therefore, if the progressive has been more common in Celtic Englishes throughout history as suggested, it is possible that its use has increased in American English originally because of the Irish and Scottish immigrants (1975, 113). Additionally, for example Collins' study on world Englishes found that Australian and New Zealand English use the progressive most often, followed by the Southeast Asian, American and British, Kenyan and Indian varieties (2008, 225). Therefore it seems that it is other varieties than the Standard British English or American English that are leading the way in progressive use.

The growth of the progressive has been rapid in the last decades, and it seems to be still ongoing, which is demonstrated by various grammatical studies. Smith has observed that the main factors influencing this increase are the new grammatical environments and areas of meaning the progressive has become used in. The largest area of growth of the progressive is in the types of verbs it occurs with; in other words, stative verbs have become more common in the progressive. This is especially true of other varieties than Standard British English (2005, 29). It has been generally asserted that in Britain the highest frequencies of progressives are found in Scottish English from where they spread towards the south, which is an interesting argument for the purpose of this study as well (Smith 2005, 10).

Stative verbs have not been used in the past with the progressive, but some significant changes have happened in that respect. In his study on the progressive in British English Smith found that the proportion of activity verbs used with the progressive has declined, while stative verbs have

increased. He argues that the progressive could in fact still be expanding into the area of stative verbs, as for example the sense of dynamicity in activity verbs can be extended by analogy to mental verbs, such as *think (of)* or *suppose* (2002, 322):

- (37) It is at this time when the public are *thinking* of planning their forthcoming annual holiday.

There may actually be “a trend towards relaxing the constraints on certain verb classes that previously were highly resistant to the progressive, notably the stative types” (Smith 2002, 323). This would imply a “loosening” of some grammatical rules.

A related issue to be noted here is colloquialization, which is sometimes presented as accounting for the rise in progressive use. According to Smith it refers to a situation when a language is changing towards a more informal style, i.e. spoken language; viewed to have happened in English between the 17th and 20th centuries. Progressives are indeed more frequent in speech than in writing, but they are not, as Smith states, “inherently colloquial” (2005, 16). Grammaticalization is another term worth mentioning when we are talking about linguistic developments and their possible motives. According to Smith it is a process where lexical items develop grammatical functions, and where already grammaticalized items develop further grammatical functions, on three levels of linguistics: meaning, phonology and morphology and syntax (2005, 32). He argues that grammaticalization can be seen as the reason for some of the developments in the progressive (ibid.). It has also been proposed that the use of the progressive to express a (temporal) habit is an important development in the recent history of the construction, as well as its futurate, attitudinal and emotive uses which have become more frequent (see section 5.2.3) (Smith 2005, 30-31). Speculations about the motives behind the developments of the progressive are ongoing, and will be discussed later in relation to my findings.

6.1. The Scottish perspective

Some remarks are made in the following about progressive use in Scotland. It is noteworthy that originally Scots had two different forms for the present participle. Meurman-Solin states that the two forms (*–and* and *–ing*) co-existed in Scots for a rather long period of time (2002, 204). Following Devitt, it is found that the shift from the Scots-English *–and* (spelled *–and* or *–ande*) to the Anglo-Irish *–ing* (spelled *–ing*, *–inge*, *–yng*, *–ynge* or *–in*) had already started in the 15th century, and after 1600 the use of *–ing* became the norm with a large increase in consistency (ibid.). From there on the use of the *–ing* ending increased and in the earlier half of the seventeenth century it became the only possible form in Scots (ibid.). Meurman-Solin notes that the use of the different variants was not unsystematic, but it seems that writers used certain variants for certain functions (2002, 212).

As mentioned in this study, Scottish English is one of the most innovative varieties when it comes to progressive use. The progressive is more frequent in Scottish English than it is in Standard British English, and it is used with a wider range of verbs. Miller mentions that the progressive is sometimes used even in written Scottish English in contexts where the non-progressive would normally appear in Standard English, such as the examples below (1993, 121) (examples from written texts by Scottish undergraduates quoted in Miller 1993, 122). Therefore it seems that the progressive is a natural choice for many Scottish people even in written language.

- (38) It seems that Extraposition *is conforming* to two conditions
- (39) ...although ‘coffee’ and ‘black’ *are occurring* together as a unit...

6.2 Contact with Celtic Languages

It has often been suggested that the frequent use of the progressive in British English is partly due to language contact with Celtic languages. Indeed, the so-called Celtic and northern varieties of English

use more of the progressive and in more innovative ways than Standard English, which is believed to point to Celtic influence. Comrie points out that the development of the progressive in English in recent times to a less restrictive form is comparable to that of the Celtic languages. For instance in Welsh the progressive covers a wide range of stative and nonprogressive meanings, and in Scots Gaelic the originally progressive form has become the only present for practically all verbs (Comrie 1976, 39).

This idea of "Celtic substratum influence" is by no means a new phenomenon; it has been discussed and studied for a long time in the history of the English language, and it has had many supporters but also faced a great deal of opposition. Smith mentions that the Celtic substratum hypothesis has been mainly investigated from a historical perspective, but there may be more recent influence involved, too (2005, 16). Filppula et al. presents some reasonable evidence supporting the idea that the progressive in English has been influenced by Celtic languages. For instance, the Celtic equivalents to the progressive construction are closest to the English ones than those of any other possible contact language, the sociohistorical circumstances of the English-Celtic border were favourable for grammar influences in the times after the Germanic tribes settled in Britain, and there has been Celtic-English contact in the modern period resulting in increased use of the progressive in some regional varieties (2008, 70-71). Bearing in mind the long history of contacts between English and Celtic languages, as well as the apparent innovativeness and frequent use of the progressive in Scottish, Irish and Welsh English, these connections are worth considering.

Filppula et al. acknowledge that although it is widely accepted that Celtic languages have played a role in the development of Celtic Englishes, i.e. Irish English, Scottish English and Welsh English, the prevailing view still is that their influence on English has been rather insignificant, being mainly evident in place names, river names and a small amount of loanwords (2002, 1). This outlook has continued through many pieces of research, maintaining that a non-prestige language of the

lower classes cannot have influenced the language of the ruling classes. Filppula et al. point out that the long history of the Celtic people being the underdogs in England seems to provide a basis for the reasoning against Celtic influence on English (2008, 1). However, we should with the help of recent research emphasize the linguistic aspects of the Celtic languages and whether we can find any similarities or connections, rather than merely highlight the sociohistorical relationships between the English and the Celtic people as an “influence-preventing” factor.

According to Filppula et al. the latest information about these sociohistorical circumstances proves that there has been more interaction between the Celtic and English-speaking populations than earlier suggested, and in many areas the Celts were bilingual alongside the Anglo-Saxons for a period of time eventually assimilating to their communities (*ibid.*). Additionally, as Filppula states, the scarceness of Celtic loanwords in English has often been seen as direct evidence against the possibility of Celtic influence altogether, but in fact it has been shown by linguists that major lexical influence is not likely in the type of language shift situation that has assumedly occurred in early medieval England, while syntactical and phonological influence can be expected (2002, 3). Therefore, we cannot simply rule out the possibility of Celtic influence on English, but we should pay attention to linguistic evidence, which is developing fast and providing us with more reliable data on languages.

One of the main supportive arguments for Celtic influence on the English language is the similarity between the English progressive construction and its Celtic equivalents. Filppula et al. mention that the similarities are both structural and functional, and what is more, semantically speaking imperfectivity is a central meaning for both constructions (2008, 65). The English progressive is also rather unique compared to other Germanic languages where the progressive is formed differently (2008, 61). Filppula et al. present some earlier research done on the subject, and Keller (1925) and Preusler (1956) are mentioned as some of the pioneering studies. Poppe comments

on the history of the English progressive concluding that there is no exact agreement on the origins of the construction *be + V-ing*, but the central suggested ones are a) OE *wesan/beon + present participle in -ende* b) OE/ME *be + locative preposition (later reduced from *a* to zero) + a nominal form in -ing/-ung*, or c) a mixture of the two; with possible other external (Latin, French, and Celtic) influences, or without them (2002, 258-259). Filppula et al. show that for example Dal (1952) and Braaten (1967) have argued that it is more likely that the Modern English progressive construction is based on the *-ing/-ung* -type rather than the Old English *-ende* -type, and it cannot be thoroughly explained without taking into account Celtic influence (2008, 61). Braaten's (1967, 180) summary of the factors supporting these claims is provided by Filppula et al. (ibid.):

- I. Modern English continuous tenses are clearly durative, while the OE phrase could be used to replace either a durative or a perfective verb—probably for dramatic effect.
- II. The Modern English *-ing* participle (originally a verbal abstract) is different in nature from the OE *-ende* participle.
- III. In other Germanic languages, the construction *be + present participle* never developed into anything like continuous tense.
- IV. The similarity between Modern English continuous tenses and corresponding constructions in Cymric is too striking to be purely coincidental.
- V. Continuous tenses tend to be used more in bilingual or formerly Celtic-speaking areas than in other parts of the country.

There are numerous opposing opinions, too, however. Accounts which consider the development of the English progressive mainly as an independent phenomenon include for instance Gerhard Nickel (1966) and Bruce Mitchell (1985) to name but two (Filppula et al. 2008, 63). Mustanoja (1960) has studied Middle English syntax and he seems to differ largely from many linguists of his time in his opinion that while Latin and Old French influences on the English progressive construction are likely, he also acknowledges that the frequency of use in Welsh, Irish and Scottish English suggests substantial Celtic influence on Present Day English in those areas (1960, 590).

There are other features in English which have been considered to have originated in Celtic languages as well, some of which are indications of early contact between English and Celtic languages and some date in the Modern Era. I have mentioned a few here as examples of possible Celtic influence in English mainly based on as to which ones are considered perhaps the most interesting and the most recognizable. One of the earlier characteristics is the increased use of periphrastic DO, that is the use the unstressed verb *do* in declarative sentences. According to Filppula et al. the earliest accounts of periphrastic DO are from affirmative declarative sentences in thirteenth century south-western English, and in negative declarations and questions from the end of the fourteenth century onwards (2008, 50). After that, the auxiliary verb system has developed into its present situation, and periphrastic DO had disappeared from affirmative declarative sentences by the 1700 (ibid.). However, as Filppula et al. state the unstressed periphrastic DO in declarative contexts has maintained in some south-western dialects of English, as in example (39) from Klemola (1994) (ibid.). The feature is in fact regarded as rather a typical one of certain south-western dialects of English.

(39) When they do meet they do always fight. (31 So6; Stogursey, Somerset)

Filppula et al. also discuss an early feature which has disappeared from the language by ME times, but can however be considered to argue for the Celtic hypotheses. Keller (1925) was the first to introduce this idea, arguing that in OE a distinction was made between the **es* and **bheu* forms of the verb 'be', and the forms based on **bheu* and their meanings 'is always/generally' or 'will be', are closely corresponding to the Celtic and Cymric equivalents. Furthermore, the feature is not found to the same extent in any other Germanic dialect (Filppula et al. 2008, 40). Many linguists not promoting the Celtic hypothesis have not investigated this feature further, but Filppula et al. certainly

regard it as a worthy example of Celtic influence in OE. A more modern feature is the varied usages of the definite article shared by the Celtic Englishes as well as some English dialects. In some dialect areas (Ireland, Scotland and Northern England, for example) the definite article is used in places where normally a possessive adjective, an indefinite article or no determiner would occur in Standard English (Filppula et al. 2008, 169). The contexts where the definite article can be found in these certain varieties (main ones being Irish English, Welsh English, Hebridean English and Manx English), are the following (Filppula et al. 2008, 170):

- names of social institutions: *be at the school/in the hospital; go to the church;*
- names of ailments and (unpleasant) physical sensations or states: *have the toothache/the headache;*
- quantifying expressions involving most/both (when followed by *of*) or all: *the most/both of them; all the day.*
- names of languages: *learn the English/the Gaelic.*

According to Filppula et al., these usages are very similar to the equivalent usages in Celtic Englishes, but they also have comparisons with some other dialects of English, Scottish English being an example (2008, 170).

Additionally, the so-called Northern Subject Rule which is evident in Scottish English and northern English dialects is regarded as proof of Celtic influence, as its closest corresponding construction is found in Welsh, Cornish and Breton (Filppula et al. 2008, 47). Shortly put, the Northern Subject Rule is an unusual pattern, where in Filppula et al.'s words "in the present tense, the verb takes the -s ending in all persons, singular and plural, unless it is adjacent to a personal pronoun subject (except for the third person singular, where the -s ending is used regardless of the type and proximity of the subject NP)", as in the example *they peel them and boils them* (2008, 43).

As we can see from the previous section, the Celtic languages are argued to have affected English in many ways, and it is probable that more contact between the languages has taken place than previously suggested. It seems rather impossible to completely deny the existence of Celtic

influence in English with numerous contact features being shown especially in certain dialects in Britain and Ireland even today. This aspect is also kept in mind in the present study on the progressive.

7. Materials and Methods

7.1. The Corpus

This is essentially a corpus study, and I am using *The Scottish Corpus of text and speech* (SCOTS), as it is to my knowledge the only existing corpus on contemporary Scottish English at the moment. The SCOTS corpus was compiled in Glasgow University in 2007, the material dates from 1945 to the present day with most texts from the latter end of this time period, making it a rather recent source of information. The corpus contains altogether over 1100 written and spoken texts adding up to 4 million words, 80% of which is written and 20% spoken material.³ In this study the spoken part of the corpus is used, as spoken material is naturally more informal and innovative uses of language are more likely to be found; it has been shown in fact that progressives are found more excessively in spoken language than in written language. We are not dealing with a grammatically tagged corpus, which naturally makes my work slightly harder as a good deal of manual work will have to be done with examples.

The SCOTS corpus does provide excellent material especially for studies that have lexical, phonological or sociolinguistic viewpoints as it presents useful information on the backgrounds of the informants, such as their parents' birthplace for instance, and includes texts from various different categories, all in audio form as well. Unfortunately for the present study, many of the fine search criteria of the corpus will most likely not be of use, however. The corpus can be used as a great source of reliable information on Scottish English for linguistic studies such as this one, too, but one cannot avoid having to do more manual work than with a grammatically tagged corpus, of course.

As mentioned, a great deal of manual processing was needed in the analysis, which can be both an advantage and a disadvantage. A grammatically tagged corpus saves us time and energy, but careful manual work and 'being close' to the text under study can at its best result to a more detailed

³ <http://www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk/corpus/details/>

and creative discussion. Obviously the old-fashioned processing of data allows more mistakes to happen, too. On the other hand, using fully automated text analysis can be restrictive and have certain problems. Ball (1994, 205) discusses these limitations by referring to *the recall problem* (i.e. amount of relevant information retrieved), amongst some other issues. Essentially, Ball explains that while the precision of a study can usually be bettered manually by removing unwanted instances and therefore assessed by the analyst, the recall problem emerges when there are errors in precision and the search criteria is narrowed down – this often results problems in recall as more material is being missed (ibid.). Naturally, the larger the corpus in question the bigger the problem with recall becomes, and therefore using automated text analysis can in fact limit what is being analysed. The SCOTS corpus is of a smaller scale than many other online corpora, and after the general search for words ending in *-ing* and *-in* the analysis is done by hand. This gives the study the advantage of high recall, as all instances in the sample are analysed, although naturally not the whole corpus could be investigated. However, in many cases perhaps a combination of automated and manual analysis could be the way forward.

In Römer's words the present study is rather corpus-driven than corpus-based, as the study starts from corpus data and is closely committed it, making observations and new findings from there (2005, 7). Biber also points out that studies that aim to analyse linguistic variation tend to be corpus-driven, where the grammatical question is often predetermined, but then corpora are used rather inductively to describe certain variation patterns connected to that grammatical question (Biber 2009, 278). Römer argues that corpus-based linguistics is more restricted as it is often a mere means of testing certain statements rather than looking for new insights, and therefore she adds that "corpus-based linguists are further away from their data than corpus driven linguists" (2005, 9-10). Thus, the approach taken here should complement the type of study we are dealing with. Although annotated corpora can be very useful in categorizing linguistic data and saving the researcher from going through

thousands of examples by hand, for example, it is not only a good thing. A very nice exemplification is given by Michael Barlow quoted by Römer: "with annotated corpora you are using other people's views of the language"; an anecdote which will be kept in mind in the process of this study, too (2005, 10).

7.2. Methods employed

To begin my analysis of the progressives in Scottish English, I performed a search on the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus with the ending *-ing*. The search provided 19,380 instances, but after excluding mother and child conversations and short poems (so called 'dippers') from the data the number decreased slightly to 10,450. The decision was made to exclude these two categories of text because mother and child -conversation is a complete research field of its own, and would need to be considered in terms of its character; and the same goes to poems as well. Also, there was no shortage of data even without the inclusion of these categories.

After the main corpus search and preliminary analysis of the data, to support and add to the results, two additional searches were carried out in the whole of the corpus with a proportion of verbs that were discovered in the sample, with both the standard ending *-ing* and the alternative spelling *-in*. The question that is of most interest to the study due to their increase in recent decades is how stative verbs are used in the progressive in Scottish English, and that is why certain stative verbs found in the sample were searched again in the complete corpus data. This supplementary method provides the study with more information on the use of stative verbs in the progressive without ballooning the amount of data under study or the extent of manual work needed. Following the original strategy, the mother and child -conversations and poems were left out of the analysis in this second search, too.

The verbs were chosen for an additional query merely looking at which ones appeared the most interesting in terms of language use with respect to the first search, and about which more information was required. The alternative spelling, then, was chosen for the additional search mainly because of the nature of the material; in spoken language data, which ranges through all social classes and geographic areas in Scotland, it is expected that a considerable amount of nonstandard spellings is also found. In addition, pure interest for the possibility of encountering language that may differ from the first search in style and register, and thus bringing new material to the study, was the catalyst for performing a further search. For the same reason, I also did a test-search with *-en* to see whether there were many examples of this Scottish type of pronunciation of *-ing* in the corpus, but I found only a few, and for that reason decided not to include them. With spoken, transcribed data we have to take into account that sometimes the transcription may not follow exactly what is being said, especially when it comes to accents. Some words or endings may be misheard during the process, or they may be adapted towards the standard spelling, and therefore not all the dialectal material is channeled to the reader of the transcription.

As the corpus is not grammatically tagged the manual chore of deleting all irrelevant instances (e.g. *thing*, *anything*) had to be done to the material at the outset. First, I downloaded the data onto the wordsmith 5 concordancer and was then able to start the manual work, which I decided to carry out with the method of first deleting all the instances of *-ing* that were clearly not progressives. At this stage I did not go through every instance and their context too carefully, but focused on erasing the clearest examples, that is, for example words ending in *-ing* (*thing*, *sing*), non-lexical items used to signal background noises in the interviews for instance ([*banging*], [*eating*]) adjectives (*amazing*, *interesting*), and other formations with *-ing* (participial phrases etc.). This initial overview obviously leaves us still with some forms that cannot be considered progressives, but those will be accounted for later on in the study. I have included in the study the

contracted forms of the verb (*I'm eating, you're eating* etc.), and for instance the *be going to* - construction and other special uses of the progressive, as we are not looking at mere frequencies but also new meanings and usages of the progressive. After this first stage of analysis, we were left with 3,103 instances with the *-ing* ending, including examples whose context needed to be analysed more carefully to see whether they were progressives or not.

As the number of instances is still rather large for the scope of the present study, a random sample of a 1000 examples was retrieved from the corpus with Wordsmith 5. I then began the analysis of these examples, studying which ones could be counted as progressives and which ones could not, and organizing them into different categories in order to find something out about the usage of the progressive in Scottish English. Broadly, the different categories/aspects I intend to look at here, in no particular order, include:

1. distribution of progressive forms
2. distribution across categories of meaning
3. distribution of different verbs
4. usage with stative verbs
5. special usages of the present progressive

I have decided to include the progressive passive in the analysis in order to have a wider perspective on the progressive. However, I have not focused overtly on the passive progressive forms, as it is a complex phenomenon and if analysed thoroughly would require a great deal more space than is appropriate for the purposes of this study. The *will + be + -ing* -construction (or, *modal + be + -ing* -constructions) will be discussed slightly more in depth as it is claimed to have originated in Celtic languages (see Smith 2005), and it will be therefore interesting to see whether their frequency is high in the Scottish English data. The examples retrieved from the corpus are from spoken data, so for instance interruptions and corrections occur and analyzing examples tends to depend more on the context in many cases than in written material. It should be noted that if more context is provided in

the example and there is more than one speaker, the speakers are marked with codes in the corpus F being female and M male, and the double slashes entail overlapping speech.

8. Findings

As we are dealing with a corpus study, real language actually spoken by people is under analysis. Examples retrieved from a corpus represent genuine language use rather than made up illustrations that appear in grammar books, for instance, and thus they make an excellent basis for linguistic analysis. The present study is interested in how progressives are used in Scottish English, and hopes to come across, and shed light on, some innovative usages. In the following sections the findings from the corpus study are presented and analysed, with the help of examples and background material. I will start the findings section considering the frequency of the progressives as well as discussing the unclear and non-progressive tokens in the sample. As mentioned before in connection with the corpus, with a large amount of manual processing of linguistic tokens, some mistakes tend to occur. The case was not different in this study, but this could be anticipated and attention will be paid to unclear instances as well.

When looking at the frequency of progressives in the data, we found that 907 out of the 1000 tokens were "genuine" progressives. That means that even after the preliminary process of excluding non-progressives, my sample still included 93 cases that were unclear at first glance, and needed a closer view at the context. The rather a large number of unclear tokens was slightly surprising, but on the other hand some were expected to occur, as elliptic progressives for example are sometimes difficult to spot from the data without looking at their context, as are progressives where the verb *be* occurs slightly earlier on in the sentence and does not come up on the concordance line. Moreover, for this study it was important not to exclude any possible progressives, and thus any unclear cases were left untouched in the first part of the analysis. After this more careful examination of examples I discovered 19 progressives, 10 unclear cases and 64 cases of non-progressives, 15 of which could

be classified as unwanted examples and 49 turned out to not be progressives. Thus, the final number of progressives out of the data is 926/1000, with 74 non-progressives (including unclear cases).

8.1. Non-progressives and Unclear cases

The 64 non-progressives found in the data consisted mainly of participial phrases and non-finite clauses, for example, that on the surface can be mistaken for a progressive as they also consist of an *-ing* form; or at least in this case their context needed to be checked to make sure. Leech and Svartvik comment on the *-ing* phrase saying that it is used either to form the progressive, to form *-ing* participle clauses, or it can become an adjective or a noun (2002, 318). Adjectives and nouns were easy to discard from the data, but some participle clauses managed to sneak in:

- (40) ...the Curriculum for Excellence thing that's gonna come out, and erm
speaking with a teacher's voice...
 (41) ...*reading* his translations to Scots...

Leech and Svartvik state that nonfinite clauses are clauses that have a non-finite verb phrase as their verb element, that is, phrases with for example an *-ing* participle or an *-ed* participle, as we can see in example (41) from the data (2002, 261). Nonfinite clauses save space and help with problems of repetition, and are therefore especially popular in written English (Leech and Svartvik 2002, 203). In many cases, as we can see in the example below, the non-finite clause is similar to a relative clause (= 'who is being excluded and saying...').

- (42) ... F965: Or an absolute little toe-rag //being excluded and *saying*// /F963:
 //Mm//
 />F965: "I don't care if I'm excluded"...

In addition to the participle and non-finite clauses, some non-progressive clauses appeared twice in the data because there were two verbs in the *-ing* form in the sentence, and were therefore excluded. Also a handful of instances such as *the idea of having parties* and *an experience of being pushed around* occurred, to mention some of the most common ones.

15 of the 64 non-progressives were named simply 'unwanted examples', which shows that although there are advantages in going through examples manually, some accidents may also happen. In this group I included examples that should have been excluded in the first part of the analysis, such as the clear noun in (43) and the *like + V + -ing* construction in (44), for instance, which has been probably mistaken for *I'm kind of like losing my anonymity*.

(43) ...looked at the results and stuff like that, so it's just actual *writing*...

(44)I think as I get older I kind of like *losing* my anonymity...

The 10 unclear cases then, were instances where it was practically impossible to tell for certain whether the construction was a progressive or something totally different. Some of these were mere fragments of sentences, or the context was other ways unclear. What made some instances particularly difficult to categorize was the fact that sometimes in the corpus one finds markings such as *[inaudible]* when a word has not been heard in transcribing the audio material, or the symbols *[?][?]* around a word when the transcriber has not been sure about it, as in (45). Mainly, the examples included here were quite simply unclear and difficult to put into any group. In example (46) where a woman is talking about an experience she had being heavily pregnant, it is difficult to tell whether the humorous comment can be considered a progressive or not, as it is rather like a continuation or interruption to somebody's utterance:

(45) .../[inaudible] Scots [?]going to bed[/?]....

- (46) F122: ...And of course I was on ma bar stool with ma bump //out to here!//
 F010: //Balancing// //precariously! [laugh]//
 F122: [laugh]// *Balancing* nothing, I was //drivin this bar stool round the bends...

8.2. Active vs. Passive

Under analysis in this study are different progressive forms and their distribution in the Scottish English data, among other things. I have followed Collins's (2008, 231) division to make it clearer what is being discussed here. Progressive forms are listed in table 1, with example sentences.

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
Present	is giving	is being given
Past	was giving	was being given
Present perfect	has been giving	has been being given
Past perfect	had been giving	had been being given
Modal	might be giving	might be being given
Modal prefect	might have been giving	might have been being given
To-infinitive	to be giving	to be being given
Perfect to-infinitive	to have been giving	to have been being given

I have begun by dividing the progressives first according to voice, i.e. active and passive voice. Active progressives are naturally more common than passive ones, and this was clearly evident in my data, too, as there were 911 (98,4%) active progressive sentences exemplified in (47), and 15 (1,6%) passive ones as in (48), in the data.

- (47) ...*I'm reading* and reading and not getting any housework done...
 (48) ...Anyway, we're *being called* // through to eat //...

It has been suggested, generally by studies focusing on written data, that the development of new forms in the progressive such as the passive has played a role in the increase of the progressive as a whole, but in this sample the number of the passive progressives seems rather insignificant. This is of course explained by the fact that we are dealing with spoken language data here, which would be expected to be lower in passives than written language. Many studies on the progressive have indeed focused on written data only, showing larger amounts of the progressive passive. Hundt points out that the alternative *get*-passive (e.g. the paper got printed) is less formal and used more in spoken language than the passive progressive with *be*, which tends to be very formal (2009, 291). Hundt states that, much like in the present study, the progressive passive usually occurs in present or past tense but is much rarer with a modal or semi-modal auxiliary (2009, 290). She acknowledges as well that not only is it normal that using two non-finite forms of *be* very close to each other is avoided, the progressive passive is a rather recent development and is not as fully grammaticalised as the simple progressive (ibid.).

8.3. Distribution of progressive forms

The progressive occurs in present and past tense, as well as the perfect and past perfect aspect. I have looked at the construction according to tense and found that my results correspond to earlier studies on the issue, although they are by no means fully comparable. According to Smith, the growth of the progressive in British English is most considerable in the present tense, both in active and passive voice (2002, 318). The present tense was the most common form in my data as well, with 514 (56,4%) of the 911 active progressives and 12 (80%) out of the 15 passive progressives. The past progressive was the second most common progressive in the sample with 325 tokens out of 911 (35,7%) in active and 3/15 (20%) in passive voice. Together the active present and past progressives accounted for the majority of the data; 839/911 which is an impressive 92,1%. This seems to agree

with Collins's study on World Englishes, too, where he states that the simple present and simple past combined came up to a total of 86,6% of the data and the other forms were either very rare or were not found at all in the corpora (2008, 231).

The frequent occurrence of the present and past progressive was not a surprise, but we can certainly say that compared to them the other forms have not increased a great deal. In my data I discovered only 15 (1,6%) present perfect progressives and 7 (0,8%) past perfect progressives, while Collins's percentages were 3,6% and 1,1%, respectively (2008, 232). These numbers are hardly large enough to say anything certain about the progressive forms. Additionally, Collins' corpora comprised of a large amount of written data, which at least partly explains the differences. It can be seen that, as Smith shows in his data of the LOB and FLOB corpora, the past progressives have not been on the increase, apart from in the passive voice; and the present forms alongside *the modal + progressive* construction have indeed been the forms that have grown the most. Collins stresses the importance of register when looking at progressive forms, as present progressives, and present tense in general, is more common in speech than in writing (2008, 233). In his study Collins has included both spoken and written language, and he states that present progressives were indeed common in the spoken register (62,7%) while they were not as popular in written part of the corpora (35,4%). Naturally, when talking, we are often speaking in the present tense, about current issues and things happening to us at the present. With this data I have noticed that past tense appears to be used quite often as well, as many of the interviews seem to concern for example the language issues and personal history of the informants. Nevertheless, the percentages of past progressives in my study seem to be very close to Collins's, and the present progressive is still the most frequently used form.

The other forms being analysed were the *to*-infinitive, perfect *to*-infinitive, and modal constructions combined with the progressive. As mentioned before, it should be interesting for this study to analyse the *modal+progressive* constructions and whether their reported increase is evident

in the data, and therefore they are dealt with in their own section later on. The *to*-infinitive was not a prominent feature in the Scottish English data, with only 6 tokens being found (0,6%), and with no instances of the perfect *to*-infinitive. As also mentioned by Römer, the *to*-infinitive is an infrequent construction, and it is clear that major conclusive statements cannot be made on the basis of a handful of examples (2005, 3). The construction is not a significant one for this study, but as it occurred a few times, it shall not be completely excluded. The numbers and percentages of each progressive form and the totals for active and passive voice can be seen in table 2 below, except for the modal+V+ing -construction which is discussed in a later section.

	Active	Passive
Present progressive	514 (56,4%)	12 (80%)
Past progressive	325 (35,7%)	3 (20%)
Perfect progressive	15 (1,6%)	0
Past perfect progressive	7 (0,8%)	0
<i>to</i> -infinitive	6 (0,6%)	0
Perfect <i>to</i> -infinitive	0	0
Total	911 (98,4%)	15 (1,6%)

8.4. Modal + progressive

The progressive has become more commonly used with modal verbs in the recent times, and although there is evidence of the construction occurring as early as Old and Middle English, it has not been common until in the 1700s (Smitherberg 2005, 133). According to Smith *the modal + progressive* is said to “have some unusual aspectual and semantic properties, quite against the grain of ‘regular’ progressives” (2003, 714). For instance the *will + be + -ing* construction has a special

meaning of future-as-a-matter-of-course, mentioned earlier in the study. Smith further exemplifies the *will + be + -ing* by saying that it is often seen to have a “regular” use, where a future situation is viewed as being in progress, and a second use where progressivity is not present but the situation is much like an entity; which is true for other *modal + progressives*, too (2003, 174). Smitterberg (2005) shows in his study that in the progressive used with a modal verb was still rather infrequent in the 19th century, but growth has since occurred in the 20th century. Smith found a considerable increase in the modal + progressive construction in written language, 30,2% in the active voice to be exact, from the LOB (1961) corpus to the later FLOB (1991), progressives with a modal amounting up to ca. 6% of the progressives overall in the FLOB (2002, 319). An investigation to even more recent occurrence of the *modal+V+ing* -construction would be interesting, as it may be expected that there would be some recent increase taking place, too.

In the present study the number of progressives used with modal verbs was not great, 40 out of 926, which is 4,3%. Comparing to Smith's 6% in 2002 in the FLOB corpus the amount is not significantly lower, but obviously the studies are not totally on the same line when it comes to the amount and type of data used. Smith's 2005 study of the same corpora gives similar results: the modal + progressive seems to be a construction that is growing, with a 25% total increase. He states that the modal + progressive construction has increased since the 1960's, the most noticeable growth being in *will + be + -ing*, which in his data is 33% (2005, 146). In the present study *will* (12/40, one of which in the only modal perfect construction found in the data) was the second most common modal used with the progressive after *would* (19/40). The two modals were significantly more often used than the others, as *should* (49) occurred in 5/40 and *might* (50) in 4/40 of the modal + progressive constructions. Contracted forms were rather frequent as expected, with 7/19 for *would'd* and 9/11 for *will'll* (see examples below). Other modal auxiliaries were not found in the corpus,

which largely conforms to the characteristics of Scottish English described earlier, noting that *shall*, *may* and *ought to* are not used in informal Scottish English, and *must* is rather restricted in use.

- (49) ...you're the person that *should be going* to church.
- (50) ...it was because I thought I *might be getting* made redundant...
- (51) ...I'd be *I'd be running* marathons.
- (52) I know that *I'll be working* in those fields...

Smith points out that although the *will + be -ing* construction has grown in the written corpora, the numbers are not as high in two conversational spoken corpora from the 1990's that he studied (2005, 147). This should be noted as the present study focuses on spoken language, much of which is conversational. According to Smith the *will + be -ing* occurs most in the letter-writing genres of the corpora, where one could suppose that for instance future plans are often made and expressed with the construction, whereas in conversation perhaps other forms are used more (2005, 148). Interestingly, Filppula et al. point out that the *modal + progressive* construction seems to be overall more common in Celtic Englishes than in British English, and the same is true for the modal auxiliaries *would* (or *used to*) + *progressive* used in some varieties, Irish English for example, to express a habitual activity (2008, 178-179). My sources do not specifically mention this to be a characteristic of Scottish English and therefore the fact that *would + progressive* occurred more in my data than the other modals cannot directly be explained with this type of extended use. Despite these observations, some examples where the *would + be -ing* was interpreted to be used in a habitual sense were found in the data (53). The Scots Online website does maintain that *would* is in fact often used in Scottish English in the place of *should*, which is stated to be Scots influence on Standard Scottish English, but as it seems that there is no research evidence to support the comment, the information should perhaps be taken with some reservation.⁴

- (53) ...what happened was that some people *would be playing* football...

⁴ <http://www.scots-online.org/grammar/sse.html>

(54) ...and she'd *be Hoovering* the living room...

However, as discussed in 3.2.6. in the study, with the practical lack of *shall* in Scottish English, *will* is used in to express future tense instead, which could partly explain the slightly higher numbers of *will* + *be* -*ing* compared to the other modals in the data (except *would*) (see (55)). *The will* + *be* + -*ing* communicates future happenings and is part of the special meanings, which have been said to increase. Thus, its popularity may also be due to semantic issues. Looking at the findings on *modal* + *progressive* in the Scottish English data, they seem to conform to the linguistics characteristics of the variety as well as to some earlier findings regarding the use of the construction. Especially when the amount of data is limited, it is important to note the ways in which modals are used with the progressive as well, and not merely focus on percentages, as not so much information may be derived from them.

(55) I think if I'm gonna lecture I'll *be reading* from a script.

8.5 *Be going to* + infinitive

The *be going to* + *infinitive* – construction is mentioned in connection with the progressive in most grammar books and works on the progressive. The case of *be going to* + *infinitive* is interesting, because it is not entirely clear whether it should be considered to be similar to a progressive, or just a grammatical phrase denoting future time. Some linguists include the construction in their studies, and therefore consider it to be a progressive in some sense, whereas others do not. One reason for not including the construction seems to be, as Smitterberg points out, that if the study intends to acquire information about the *development* of the progressive through a certain period of time, including all marginal forms may distort the quantitative picture and are therefore better left out (2005, 33). This argument is of course very logical. In the present study however the actual usage of the progressive in a certain variety is studied, not so much the development of the construction, and for that reason,

as well as because of its popularity in informal speech, I have decided to include the *be going to* + infinitive construction in the study, but deal with it in this separate section.

As we know, the *be going to* + infinitive is used to refer to the future. Quirk et al. give the construction two specific meanings: *future fulfilment of present intention* and *future result of present cause*. The first one is associated mainly with personal subjects and agentive verbs, such as in *When are you going to get married?*, when the latter appears with both personal and nonpersonal subjects, as in *It's going to rain* (1985, 214). Williams points out that the *be going to* – construction is different to the present progressive with future time reference as it includes a very strong element of ‘presentness’ (2002, 53). The construction is deep-rooted in the present and it often underlines a present intention or a prediction based on already-existing circumstances, like in *at the next meeting I'm going to complain about the new secretary* (present intention) (ibid.).

Scheffer is one of the linguists that does consider *be going to* a progressive in his study, even if only in a formal sense, so to speak. He states that there is hardly anything left of the meaning of the progressive in the construction, but it is not necessary to treat it as an exception to other verbs in the progressive, as this would bring about the problem of referring to other works that have not done that either (1975, 82). Sometimes the *be going to* + infinitive is used as a second progressive (*I am going to be working next week*), which according to Scheffer makes the construction work as an auxiliary verb for the formation of the periphrastic future of other verbs. He adds that we cannot lump all the instances of *be going to* together as there are numerous shades of meaning for the construction (1975, 95).

In the present study, the popularity of the *be going to* in spoken registers became evident from the beginning of the analysis. Altogether 76 instances of *be going to* + infinitive were found in the data. This amount is rather large, resulting up to 8,2% of the corpus sample. The construction was found both in the present and past tense, in most persons, and in the negative as well. The

material being mostly interviews, it is not surprising that the sentences are mostly in first, second and third person singular ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘he/she’. This emphasis is naturally owing to the fact that interviews and personal stories are often filled with subjective discussion about personal matters, and sentences with ‘I’ for instance are used often. The number of *be going to* – sentences in the first person singular was 28/76, and in the third person singular 25/76.

(56) ... *I was going to* write that but didnae want to...

(57) ... *He was going to* quote them later himself...

The second person singular was the third most popular person, with 9/76 instances. Three examples of *be going to* performing as a second progressive were also found, example being *I’m going to be going home*. Apart from the apparent popularity of the construction, not much can be said about its essence or character. It does not seem that there would be anything distinctively Scottish about the use of *be going to* + *infinitive*, as it is just a common phrase to use particularly in conversation.

8.6. Stative verbs and the progressive

As we know from previous sections, stative verbs refer to for example mental or physical states, and as states are situations that do not normally have a clear ending point, they can in a sense be more abstract than dynamic verbs. A state can be seen as unchanging through time rather than something that has duration or that can progress. In Leech and Svartvik’s words, a state is “a state of affairs that continues over a period, and does not need to have a well-defined beginning and end”. They also suggest that the term ‘stative uses of verbs’ is used instead, but I find ‘stative verb’ rather clear and useful in many situations (2002, 66). Thus, it is because of these considerations that stative verbs do not normally occur in the progressive.

The line between stative and dynamic situations is not clear-cut, however, and for the purpose of this study the idea of stativity needs to be considered in slightly more detail before the results are

presented. Sometimes the verbs that are normally stative can in a sense become dynamic in certain situations and be used in the progressive, but in those cases the verbs often entail a temporary situation rather than a permanent state. Also, “the states of temporary duration” (i.e. ‘stance verbs’), such as *living* for instance, which were mentioned earlier, can quite easily occur in the progressive (Smith 2005, 93). Quirk et al., too, consider verbs such as *live*, *stand*, *sit* and *lie* as intermediate between dynamic and stative verbs, expressing either temporariness or a permanent state depending on whether they are used in the progressive or the non-progressive (1985, 205-206). Additionally, the verbs of perception (e.g. *see*, *hear*, *feel*, *smell*, *taste*) are in a sense intermediate verbs as they can act as both dynamic and stative depending on the sentence. Quirk et al. mention that the perception verbs cannot normally occur in the progressive, and when describing more intentional activities dynamic versions of the perception verbs are used (i.e. *look at* and *listen to*). However, as there are no particular agentive perception verbs for the senses of smell, touch and taste, the verbs are used also in the dynamic sense: *I’m smelling the roses*, *I’m tasting the wine*. Other verbs that act in the same way and similarly refer to perception are *perceive*, *detect*, *seem* and *appear* (1985, 203-205).

There are other situations where stative verbs can occur in the progressive. *Agentive situations* often allow stative verbs to occur, and in them, quite logically, a human agent is present to control the process described and hence is able to give limited duration to that process (Biber et al. 1999, 473). Smith remarks that for example in the sentence *John is being silly* an agentive situation is present and that is why the verb *be* can, unlike normally, occur in the progressive (2005, 93). The sentence describes John’s behaviour at a specific moment of course, and he can be seen as having control over his behaviour. Smith points out that also the “waxing/waning situations” allow the stative verb to take the progressive, i.e. sentences where the adverbial *more and more* is normally used to suggest that the situation is interpreted as a developing process and not a static situation, as in the following example from Smith: *The baby’s resembling his father more and more every day*

(2005, 93). These waxing/waning situations seem to be rather approving of the progressive, and need to be taken into consideration in this study, too.

Stative verbs are often divided into four semantic classes (stance verbs included here) (Leech et al. 2009, 130):

- 1) Perception and Sensation (e.g. see, hear, smell, hurt, taste), as in *I think you are imagining things*.
- 2) Cognition, emotion, attitude (e.g. think, feel, forget, long, remember), as in *And that will be much sooner than you're thinking*.
- 3) Having and being (e.g. be, have, have to, cost, require), as in *They are now having to address issues some have avoided in the past*.
- 4) Stance (e.g. sit, stand, lie, live, face), as in *We are living in a crucial time*.

Some grammarians have compiled rather exhaustive lists of stative verbs, but that will not be necessary here. The instances of stative verbs in the progressive are not difficult to spot in the corpus data, and we need not compare them religiously with a specific list of stative verbs, but if unsure, they will be checked from Scheffer (1975) and other works. It has been noted before that in Scottish English, the progressive seems to be more freely used with stative verbs, and sentences such as *I'm liking it* have been found to occur quite happily in the Scottish varieties. In many previous studies Scotland has lead the way in progressive use; and in Smith's 2005 PhD on the progressive in British English for example, most of the more special uses of the progressive are found from Scottish speakers.

In the present study, I decided to first count the number of all progressives that occurred with a stative or a stance verb, then go carefully through the data to find out the number of sentences where the verb was actually used statively, or non-standardly, with the progressive. The total amount of progressives with a stative verb came to 88, which is 9,5% of the amount of progressives in the study (926). In addition, 24 stance verbs were found in the progressive which, if included, take the number up to 112 and 12%; but being classed as intermediate between stative and dynamic, their occurrence is not one of the most informative issues for the present study. The nearly 10% found

here is rather a satisfying number, but I do realise that in many cases for instance the verb *think* is used quite normally as a dynamic verb meaning ‘consider’. However, it is useful for the study having available the number of all sentences where a stative verb is in the progressive, even if some of the verbs can have either a dynamic or a stative sense. Table 3 below lists the 23 stative verbs used with the progressive in the data; and examples from most verbs will be given in the following section as well, especially if any innovative uses are found.

Stative verbs in the data				
Be 12	Excite 1	Have 9	Occur 1	Understand 1
Become 7	Expect 2	Hear 2	See 1	Want 2
Conform 1	Feel 4	Hope 2	Seem 1	Witness 1
Disturb 1	Find 3	Know 1	Tend 1	
Enjoy 4	Forget 1	Look 1	Think 29	

In the methods-section of this study it was explained that some stative verbs were chosen for an additional corpus search in order to obtain more information about their use in ScE. I wanted to know more about verbs that had the most potential to show innovative usages, and therefore I excluded the verbs whose dynamic sense is often prevailing, namely *be*, *have* and *think*. These verbs have both a dynamic and a stative sense, as has the verb *see*, but their dynamic sense is used regularly especially in conversation (e.g. *I remember being a little girl, I was just having a lot of fun, I'm really thinking about what I'm saying*, etc.). In addition to these, the verbs *feel*, *excite* and *disturb* were excluded. They also have multiple non-stative meanings depending on what position they take in

a sentence, and including them would not have spurred many informative examples. Therefore, it is more interesting for this study to look at verbs that have a stronger stative sense but yet occur in the progressive.

Although some of the verbs can be used both statively and dynamically, with only a changed meaning in the sentence, all verbs with “stative potential” are considered here. As Quirk et al. (1985, 203) explain the main description of the so-called stative verbs is not in fact so much that they are incompatible with the progressive, but that when they do occur with the progressive there is some kind of change in the interpretation of the sentence. However, the construction of a certain progressive meaning is often not straightforward, and therefore traces of different meanings can often be found. As concluded by Smith (2005, 29) in many of the special meanings of the progressive, a connection to the basic in-progress meaning can be found when observed from multiple viewpoints. In some of the examples, the possibility of the interpretation that a hint of the active in-progress meaning could also be present cannot be ruled out. Consequently, all the examples and their contexts need close analysing, after which their meanings start becoming clearer. In the following the cases of *stative verb* + *progressive* are discussed in more detail, starting with the verbs that had the most hits in the sample.

8.6.1 Think

The high number (29 instances) of progressives with the main verb *think* is not very surprising, considering that *think* can also have a dynamic sense (e.g. *Don't interrupt me, I'm thinking!*) as well as that the data studied consists of mostly interviews, where it is expected to be rather common. The verb can have the dynamic sense of ‘to consider’ and the stative sense of ‘to have an opinion’, but it rarely occurs unconventionally in the progressive with the stative sense. Therefore, as expected

perhaps, all the progressives with the verb *think* seem to have at least some dynamicity attached to them, as in the following examples:

- (58) Sometimes you get a thumpin just in case *you're thinking* about being bad, as well, don't you.
- (59) Yeah, *I was thinking*, you know, I don't have time to read anything I want...
- (60) ...because *I'm thinking*, "might go back and have a wee hello"...

Assigning a progressive under a unified meaning is in most cases not possible, and with many cases with *think* I came to the conclusion that although there is some unclarity, it seems nevertheless that a dynamic sense is present. As mentioned above, in speech we often use the verb *think* in many types of contexts, and the data consisted mainly of sentences such as example (59) (*I was thinking, you know,...*). For that reason no extra searches were carried out with the verb. Unclear cases were mainly of the below type, where it may be questioned why the progressive has been used, as the simple form seems to do just as well. It is also debatable whether in fact the stative meaning "to be of the opinion that" is present here, or whether the progressive is used to extend the meaning of *think* slightly:

- (61) ...I'm, *I'm actually thinking* I'm so glad I'm not doing English literature now...

8.6.2 Be

The verb *be* was used second most often in the progressive in the data, namely 12 times. Although the verb is normally used mainly to introduce something (*John is a student.*), it can also be used in the progressive when referring to something that is not permanent (*John is being silly.*). Indeed, in most cases this was the sense that could be read from the examples, and in nine sentences the verb *be* was in the progressive clearly to describe a certain non-permanent characteristic of a person, as shown below by (62) and (63). In other words, the verb *be* takes the meaning of a temporary state

when in the progressive. The example number (64) illustrates another use that came up, which is associated with the speech of young people. There the verb *be* in the progressive works as a reporting verb in a sense, similar to *thinking* or *saying*, and was only found once.

- (62) *He's being* very nice, you see.
- (63) I thought you *were being* lazy and getting the bus from Byres...
- (64) ...and (She's) phoning him and *being* like "Oh I miss you!"...

8.6.3 Have

The situation with the verb *have* is similar to *be*, and nine examples of *have* in the progressive were found. All but one seemed like rather normal usages of the verb in the progressive where dynamicity has been attached to the meaning, some of which are rather set phrases as well:

- (65) ...somebody with with whom you *would be having* a a relationship.
- (66) ...you're br- eh *having* folk over?

A slightly more interesting example was found, too, where the verb *have* seems to occur in a place it would not normally occur, i.e. in the meaning "to own". The rather interesting usage is illustrated in the example below:

- (67) ... I don't have, I I mean *I'm not* going to church and *having* very strong beliefs, I just don't.

In the example the speaker starts with the simple form *I don't have*, and almost immediately continues with *I'm not having*, and there is no correction present in the conversation. Therefore it seems that it is "okay" to use this type of progressive here, perhaps partly because there is another progressive *I'm not going* in the same sentence, as if allowing for the other formation to appear, too. It is difficult to analyse what type of meaning the speaker has intended to communicate by using the progressive instead of the normal simple form, but I would suggest that in some cases the choice is

mostly stylistic. There seems to be no clear motivation behind the use, but the progressive does change the meaning, stylistically at the least. It would have been interesting to find more of this kind of usage with *have*, but although no extra search was carried out, this example does give a reason to suspect that there may have been other similar formations or situations in the whole of the data.

8.6.4 Become

Become fits the category of stative verbs that can in certain situations be interpreted as dynamic, and is in fact rather common in the progressive in this sense. When read as dynamic, the situation is seen as an ongoing process. Frequently some adverbials signifying ongoingness are also used, such as *increasingly* or *more and more*, which signify the *waxing/waning situations* that often allow the progressive (consider examples (68) and (69)).

- (68) So like, as you can imagine, my essay *is becoming* increasingly complicated as I go down each one of these fives.
- (69) So they started to walk up the road, and walking up the road *was becoming* more and more uncomfortable for my mum.

When the situation is interpreted as stative, it is viewed as a state of affairs that is not changing, and then the non-progressive *become* is used, for instance in *Mark becomes grumpy when he is hungry*. In the examples of *become* with the progressive here, the predominant sense or meaning was ongoingness and waxing/waning situations, as illustrated above. Although more examples of *becoming* came up in the additional query (27 instances), they too could easily be categorized as having a dynamic sense rather than stative.

8.6.5 Enjoy

The verb *enjoy* was found four times in the progressive in the data sample. It is one of those verbs that can quite easily occur in the progressive when it can be considered an ongoing action taking

place at the moment, as in *I'm enjoying the food very much* (the food I am eating at the moment). In some of the examples this sense was not at all straightforward; for instance in (70) and (71) one is left wondering why the simple present is not used instead of the progressive, and whether these usages are in fact just common in the Scottish varieties of English.

- (70) Well yes, I'm sure, I'm sure *they're enjoying* them in many cases but they've also got that canonical status.
- (71) ...and er he *was enjoying* doing his English, but this Scots gave him a different voice.

In the first example a group of people are discussing books, and in the example sentence a speaker is referring to certain books that are voted to the top 20 in the book shop. It is slightly curious why the speaker did not use the simple present *I'm sure they enjoy them in many cases* in this sentence, as we are not talking about something that is happening continuously at the moment. It could be argued that the speaker means that the people reading the books were enjoying them continuously at the time they were doing the reading, but still the present simple would perhaps be the more natural option. However, by opting for the progressive, the speaker manages to bring a slightly different meaning into the sentence, which is presumably the motivation behind the choice. In the second example then, children's writing is discussed, and the same question arises: why is the progressive used when the simple present would do just as well? There is hardly anything wrong with using *enjoy* in the progressive in the above sentences, but in many cases the question that arises is as to why exactly is the progressive chosen over the simple form in a given sentence.

Since some interesting examples ended up in the random sample, I was curious to perform an additional search with the verb. No instances were discovered with the alternative spelling *enjoyin*, but with the regular spelling the amount was 24 (i.e. 4/24 came up in the sample). The results followed roughly what was evident in the random sample: most examples had the temporary ongoingness -meaning, and some uses were more unclear or the simple present could have been used as well, as below.

- (72) F1151 Mmhm. Yeah, I mean I I don't dislike it in any way, I just, I'm actually really *enjoying* it, but I just find that I suppose that's the whole point, the whole point is to ask questions that might on the surface seem //like they don't really need asked,
- (73) M1682 And they all called me nuts "Why you taking something that heavy?" you know. //I says "cause *I'm enjoying* it and I'm reading it".//

8.6.6 Feel

Four instances of the verb *feel* were found in the progressive in the corpus data, which is not many, considering that the verb can quite normally occur in the progressive if we are talking about health for instance, e.g. *I'm feeling ill*. However, if we are stating an opinion (*I feel that it is wrong*) or talking about a sensation (*The air feels cold*) the verb should normally be in the simple form. The examples in the data do not appear to be unfitting, but as with *enjoy*, the choice of the progressive instead of the simple form is perhaps in some cases debatable. In the example below, the simple form would be suitable, too, but the progressive is used. Again, a somewhat different shade of meaning is communicated compared to the simple form, and the simple present here would perhaps sound slightly harsh:

- (74) But occasionally *I've been feeling* old, you know, sometimes...[laugh]

8.6.7 Find

The verb *find* occurred in the progressive three times in the data, two of which had the sense 'to be of the opinion that'. This sense is considered stative, and should not in fact be normally found in the progressive. The two sentences where the verb was clearly used in this way are exemplified by the following:

- (75) F746...*are you finding* that they are picking up very well from starting the Gaelic...(?)
- (76) M815 really had to sit down and work at it, and *I'm finding* it's the same thing this time.

It is interesting to look at the context of example (75), as it reveals that the simple form *do you find* is being used by the same speaker as the comment continues: ...*are you finding that they are picking up very well from starting the Gaelic, like say the ones who are actually from Glasgow, ... do you find that they are picking up the Gaelic very quickly or...?* Much like with example (67) earlier the simple and the progressive form seem to occur quite happily together in some sentences.

Bearing in mind the examples found in the sample, the verb was then looked up in the whole of the corpus in both spellings *-in* and *-ing*. Two instances of *findin* came up, but both of them in their dynamic sense, whereas with *finding* the total amount was 21. Out of these 13 constructions were progressives, two of which, in addition to the ones in the random sample, were also discovered in the stative sense. It can be deemed rather unusual for the verb *find* to occur in the progressive with the meaning ‘to be of the opinion’, so it is interesting to find authentic examples of its use in the corpus. The following examples demonstrate the stative use of the verb in the progressive further, and a subtle change of meaning can again be detected:

- (77) F1195 ...and *we've been finding* that in terms of Gaelic, the interest in Gaelic seems to skip a generation.//
- (78) F1190...and saying, "*You're finding* it terrible", and I said, "Well yes, something has to be done with this, doesn't it?"

8.6.8 Hear

There are only two examples of *hear* in the progressive in the sample. The examples seem to be very valid however, and should be mentioned here. In both of them the verb is used in the progressive in a slightly unusual manner; in the first one the speaker is talking about experiencing the fire festival Up-Helly-Aa growing up in Shetland, whereas in the second one the topic is children's songs and nursery rhymes.

- (79) And "The Up-Helly-Aa Song" the three things, so we were all, you know, we knew all that an, and eh *hearing* about it so much it was just great excitement.

- (80) Erm children *are not hearing* these from gran and granddad, mum and dad, they're being plonked in front of DVD's and erm they are hearing American erm songs and rhymes...

The first example is somewhat unclear at first because spoken material can be fragmentary and it is somewhat difficult to analyse what exactly is meant. When listening to the recording, it can be derived from the context though that the speaker seems to be saying *we were hearing about it so much*, as a few sentences earlier in the interview they say the same thing. It is interesting that *hear* should appear in the progressive here, as it is not normal for the verb, and for instance *we used to hear about it so much* could also be used when talking about a past event that has happened regularly. The progressive here with the verb *hear* seems to be a somewhat Scottish usage.

The second example *children are not hearing* is another slightly peculiar progressive, where the same construction actually occurs twice, but only the first one is included in the random sample. The example seems to be yet more proof of the Scottish progressive usage, as there is no plausible explanation as to why the simple present *don't hear* is not used here. Somehow the idea of progressivity appears to have been in a way extended in this sentence, to allow, in the Scottish context, the use of the verb *hear* in the progressive.

After performing the additional searches, one example of *hearin* and five examples of *hearing* came up. One instance of both *the always-type progressive* and *the waxing/waning progressive* were found (examples (82) and (81)), while the others were rather straightforward uses of *hear* in the progressive. This type of usage exemplifies the spread of the progressive in Scottish English to occur with verbs for which it is unusual; consider:

- (81) M1055 The other one of of th- that type of of eh expression that I I I'm increasingly *hearing* is 'ma tha'.
 (82) F947 //Yeah, well I'm always *hearing* some today in the playground.//
 (83) M1021 And it was wi – it was a sing-song accent even when you *were hearin* them shouting...

- (84) F1006 //Yes, which I feel the// the normal Glaswegians would use possibly, I *wasn't hearing* as a youngster, really, //because we were, we were so i-//

8.6.9 Hope

In the data there are two instances of *hope* in the progressive. Considering that *hoping* can be commonly used when we are being polite for instance, it is rather surprising that only two ended up in the sample. Additionally, as mentioned earlier in the study, *hope* in the progressive is regarded as an example of *the tentative/downtoning use* of the progressive by Smith, and it said to be particularly common in conversation along with other instances of *the attitudinal/emotive use* (for instance “the *always-type*” progressive) (Smith 2005, 28- 29). Despite these considerations, in Smith’s study progressives used in a tentative manner were also rare, and the verbs usually expressing politeness such as *hope* and *wonder* were mostly used to imply temporariness but not tentativeness (2005, 109). Although *hope* is considered a stative verb of emotion, just as some other stative verbs, it can be interpreted as having a dynamic or active character in certain sentences. Because of its interesting nature, an extra corpus search was done with *hope*, too.

When looking at the two sentences in the sample, tentativeness seems to come up in one way or another. In example number (85) though, this sense is not so clear-cut, and it seems that the simple form could have been used as well, and actually been more assertive. This is especially the case as the material is a lecture about the Glasgow Gaelic School, a context where some formality is expected, and the progressive adds a hint of hesitation to the statement. On the other hand, it may be the case also that it is because of the formal genre, that added politeness and tentativeness is intentionally expressed. In the second example the use of the progressive seems justified, as the comment is in a way tentative or downtoning. Smith’s term *attitudinal/emotive use* fits well especially with the second example, as it can be seen that the progressive is used to convey emotions

in the conversation. In the excerpt a woman and her mother are talking about Christmas and where and how they like to spend it, and the daughter expresses her wishes for the family to come over to America for Christmas next year.

- (85) ...there are three teachers at Hillpark, er but I've appointed one of them as my deputy, so there are issues for Hillpark with their provision, so *we're hoping* to kind of share resources, up until such times that Hillpark no longer have Gaelic students.
- (86) F639 [laugh] *I was* kind of *hoping* next//
 F640 //or we might make it one year to America, the four of us// [laugh]//
 F639 //year maybe you'll come to America [laugh].

In the additional search with the spelling *hopin* the verb came up five times, and with *hoping* 22 times. All the instances were indeed progressives, but again the sense in which they are used needs close examination. Politeness is evident in the examples below as well, and we can see that if the simple form of the verb was used, the utterances would be far more direct, losing their tentative style. Tentativeness can also be inferred from the contexts of these particular examples. However, the construction of a certain progressive meaning is often not straightforward, and therefore in some of the examples we cannot rule out the possibility of the interpretation that a hint of the active in-progress meaning could also be present. As in (90) for instance, we could interpret that *hoping for a boy* is active and continuous, so to speak.

- (87) //so *I'm hopin* they might be sayin that, [laugh]
 (88) ...and eh //so *I'm hopin* tae hear a few mixed words there, //
 (89) ...//Aye, but// the Laurencekirk community or whoever has to do wi it are ...
 eh, they *were hopin* it would be sooner than that.
 (90) //so she'll//*be hopin* for a boy, eh? an I was speakin to...
 (91) //Yes, yes *I'd be hopin* they had their breeks on anyway!//
 (92) So *we're hoping* this one will be the start of something, it's been a milestone for us this week.
 (93) *I'm actually hoping* to have a pipe band, because we have very accomplished pipers within the school.

Without going into detail about the genres of texts in the corpus, with the second search it became evident that the more formal categories of speech were highlighted in the case of the verb *hope*, namely lectures and talks (roughly 2/3 of the texts). This refers again to the *politeness/tentativeness* meaning of the verb in the progressive, as well as its apparent popularity in Scottish English.

8.6.10 Want

In the same “category” with *hope* is the verb *want*, which is also included in “verbs referring to a state of mind or feeling” by Leech and Svartvik (2002, 76). *Want* can also be used in the progressive in the same way as *hope*, that is when expressing tentativeness and tact. As mentioned earlier in the theory section of the study, according to Miller *want* is often used in Scottish English instead of the modals *ought* and *should* and is therefore a rather common verb in the variety (1993, 117). This is found to be true from personal experience as well, and what is more, *want* is rather commonly used also in the progressive in everyday sentences, such as *I’m wanting a drink*. From that point of view it is surprising again that only two examples came up in the sample. Therefore, the verb was also looked up in the whole corpus data as well as with both the standard and alternative spelling, and the numbers of instances were 23 (16 progressives) and 34 (29 progressives), respectively. It can be noted here that interestingly a large number of progressives with *want* occurred in the mother and child –conversations, often uttered by the mothers, but the genre was deliberately excluded from the sample because of its specific nature.

First of all, neither of the two examples in the random sample (examples (94) and (95) below) have a straightforward meaning of tentativeness, not in a clear-cut sense, but they rather seem to illustrate what could be called a Scottish usage of the progressive. They promised interesting results also from the additional searches, and indeed many similar instances were found: only three progressives seemed to have some tentative meaning. The first example in the random sample is a

talk about Scots in schools in the 21st century, where the speaker indeed seems to use *want* in the progressive without signs of predetermined attitude or increased politeness; therefore it could be noted that a typical Scottish usage is in question. When listening to the recording of this example it can be heard that the speaker does not seem indefinite or unsure about his statement, but rather happily uses this particular progressive. In the second example four students talk about memories and music festivals, and again the present simple *I wanted* could have been used easily instead of the progressive *I was wanting*, as the speaker is merely reminiscing about the past. Both examples seem to be distinctively Scottish, and cannot be explained simply by tentative/tact –usage. What elements exactly are embedded in this Scottish usage of the progressive is hard to specify, and cannot be analysed much further in the scale of the present study. Nevertheless, it is evident that more than one shade of meaning is present in these examples.

- (94) ...Tesco's taken us on as well. Erm the Daily Record have taken us on. I normally it would be the erm literary pages of the Sunday heavies but erm the fact that the Record *is wanting* this and *wanting* to know more about it means we'll get a much erm more diverse audience that we ever have in the past.
- (95) Like, that's alright then I quite like driving and it's quite nice scenery so, sod it, I'll just drive up to Nairn. I had to dr-, I had to do it with someone else though. *I was* kinda *wanting* to go by myself so I could just listen to the radio.
- (96) F834 //So, [CENSORED: forename]// my pal, what *are* you *wantin* to dae when you leave school, my Scottish //friend?//
- (97) F960 doon in front o wis we *wir wantin* ta pit up a fence because de sheep wid come in an //lie aboot de doors//

8.6.11 Verbs that occur once

There are twelve stative verbs that only occur once in the progressive in the corpus sample. Those verbs are ones that are normally resistant to the progressive, and the usages can hardly be explained

by anything other than the fact that they are distinctively Scottish. One of those verbs is *conform*, which also came up in section 3 in the theory part of the thesis (example 98) with reference to Scottish written English. In this example the verb appears in an interview, in the speech of the interviewer in fact, with a Muslim journalist about Muslim media in Scotland. The verb does not normally take the progressive, so this seems to be another Scottish usage. *Conform* did not appear in either of the extra queries, which is not surprising considering its formality.

(98) M1174 ...so we u – we use that so that we’re obviously keeping the the, you know, the core Urdu...

M608 Yeah.

M1174 in the community// alive//

M608 //so you’re kind of *conforming* to an international standard, //effectively, yeah.//

Similarly, *occur* is another verb found once in the sample, and it was mentioned alongside *conform* in the example in an earlier section. These two particular verbs are somewhat more used in written language, and therefore more formal than many of the other verbs in the sample which are common in speech. For that reason it is curious that these two verbs should appear in the progressive in the sample, against normal conventions. In addition, they were mentioned by Miller (1993, 121-122) as examples of verbs that Scottish speakers use in the progressive even in formal, written texts. No instances of *occurring* were found in the additional searches, however. The example of *occur* below is from an interview with the environmental biochemist, poet, and playwright David Purves who writes in Scots, and in the excerpt he is talking about the situation of Scottish literature at the moment.

(99) It’s inevitable that things should change, and that people should feel that er that the ch- the changes which *are occurring* in society er are bad because they are different from the time that they have experienced within their own // own own life. //

Some interesting examples in the data came up with the verb *understand*. It does not usually take the progressive at all in standard English, but in the Scottish context it seems to be possible to use the construction, although there were only two progressives of this sort in the corpus. One came up in the random sample and one in the extra search; none were found with the *-in* ending. For background information it can be added that the first example below is from a conversation recording between three teachers talking about kids learning Gaelic, and in the second two postgraduate students discussing the experience of their speech being recorded. As to why the progressive was chosen over the simple form by the speakers is not easy to identify, but interpretations can be made about whether ongoingness or temporariness are somehow considered to be present in the situations, consider:

- (100) Well at the moment, well *they're understanding* more than they are speaking, so we're talking, we're speaking to them in Gaelic, most of the day.
- (101) And I think now that I'm in this kinna situation, with being recorded, *I'm understanding* this whole observer's paradox, listening, recording, type thing, that makes it really difficult to get sort of natural speech.

The verb *seem* with the progressive was also found once in the sample, although it does not normally take the progressive. It was not found in the additional queries, however. Neither the example nor its context give any reason for the construction to occur, so this seems to be another Scottish usage. A sense of ongoingness can perhaps be identified in the example (i.e. *people seem to be getting bored*), which would explain the choice as well as meaning of the progressive here. The progressive does seem to in this case express better what is experienced:

- (102) People *are seeming* to get a bit bored with it.

The verb *witness* is similar to the verb *see* and could be put in the same category of perception verbs, and it does not normally take the progressive. However, one example was found in the sample, and two more in the additional query. No instances were found with the spelling *witnessin*. Again,

the examples do not fall strictly under any particular sense of the progressive that would explain the choice over the simple form. However, it can be seen that some sort of extension of the progressive meaning has taken place here, and for instance traces of ongoingness can be identified in (103), and temporariness in (104) and (105).

- (103) speech eh, as as we're *witnessing*, has its own difficulties of recording and and transcription.
- (104) ...But eh it was just a city. It's not till y-you get older that you realize just, what you were eh *witnessing*.
- (105) M811 //it's really bad though, cause you're like, "Right", the crowds, like push// up, so I'm just, like, "Right", //[inaudible]//
F814 //[laugh]//
M811 *not witnessing* //anything [inaudible] [laugh]//

There was one token of the verb *tend* in the sample, and one more came up in the extra query with the standard spelling. Normally the simple form of the verb would be used with no exception, and no straightforward reason for using the progressive here can be given. Indeed, it can be merely stated that the use of the progressive somehow changes the way the situation is viewed; it is, instead of being stative, seen as having duration or imperfectivity, for instance.

- (106) M1021 ... But, what he's saying is quite right, you know, you see, I'm *tending* to bring the the common folk into this more, because that's where you'll you'll find the remnants o o the old Scots.
- (107) M721 Certainly in Modern Languages, again, we tend to, I'm *tending* to look at it as trying to simplify and exemplify....

Forget appeared once in the sample, and one more progressive was discovered in the second search with the standard spelling. The first example seems to fall, in terms of its meaning, into the category of *waxing/waning* usage, demonstrating a situation where something is happening gradually, and the adverbial 'less and less' is used. The second is structurally, as it were, an elliptic progressive, but in terms of meaning it intends to communicate humour; which is more characteristic of special meanings than aspectual ones.

- (108) M1174 //Yeah.// I mean, [exhale] I don't know if any research has been done er in this particular field, but er I personally feel that erm mu- less and less of the youth nowadays *are* really *forgetting* their their mother tongue, so to speak, //so that's whether it's//
- (109) //them, I should say, you know about them.// Sorry, *forgetting* my age there.
//[laugh]//

One token of the verb *exciting* was found in the sample. The verb occurred in the data specifically in its stative interpretation where the object of the utterance is experiencing a state, consider the following:

- (110) Erm, I'd really like to write more fictional things. That's what I'm writing that's *exciting* me the most at the moment.

Similarly, *disturb* occurred in the data one time in its stative sense. However, not much can be said about the stative reading of these types of verbs as it is not amongst the main concerns of this study, and as their occurrence in the data was rather insignificant. Below is the second example of this type of construction:

- (111) ...and we've come to the end of a whole series of Itchy Coe books, and what's really *disturbing* me the most is that I'm being described as a children's author.

The verb *look* occurs regularly in the progressive in its dynamic sense (*to look with your eyes*), but its stative reading (i.e. 'seem', 'appear') is much rarer. In the sense 'to seem', *looking* is not considered an active process that can occur in the progressive, but an unchangeable state. In the sample, one example of this type was found, however:

- (112) //Erm because I was si- I was sitting beside [CENSORED: forename],// and apparently I I *was looking* as if he was my boyfriend. I was like "Sorry!" [laugh]

The additional queries yielded altogether 15 more tokens of the sense 'to seem', which point to the fact that perhaps the verb is more allowing to the progressive even in its stative reading than

some of its counterparts. Some of the examples illustrate that the meaning of the verb changes as the progressive is attached to it, in most cases clearly from stativity to temporariness. Consider:

- (113) So it was really quite sad. And Jaggi *is looking* very fragile and has had, just had his ninety-first //birthday.//
 (114) Okay, ehm oh let's see, insane, [inaudible] rich, "moody". What's comin to your mind, Ann, you're *lookin* //puzzled. [inaudible]//

One token of *know* + progressive came up in the sample, and one in the extra query. Being a verb of cognition, *know* is, as we would expect, resistant to the progressive in all types of situations. One of the examples in the data is slightly unclear, while the other one is a textbook example of a nonstandard use of the verb in the progressive. True to form, the amount of tokens is low, but an illustration is worth giving, however. The choice of the progressive in example (115) is curious, but certainly the speaker wants to express some kind of special meaning that he or she perhaps considers the simple form unable to express.

- (115) And my mum was good to me. //You *weren't* erm, *knowing* that I didn't have a father around a lot of the time sh-she worked hard.//

The verb *expect* is stative in the sense *to suppose* (e.g. *I expect you would like something to drink*), but often when in the progressive, it has the meaning *to wait for someone to arrive*; this is also apparent in *She's expecting a baby*. The different senses were also evident in the examples that surfaced in the second query, while the example in the sample could in fact have multiple interpretations. In this case, both senses *suppose* and *wait* could be identified, consider:

- (116) [inhale] Now, we tend to think of sermons as written to be spoken, and therefore you *would be expecting* to see a sermon written in a kind of colloquial style...

Finally, *seeing* appeared in the random sample once, whereas in the additional queries it was found 20 more times, including cases with the nonstandard spelling *seein*. Of course the verb occurs

in the progressive often dynamically, when *to see* means ‘to meet someone’, e.g. *I’m seeing him tonight*. However, in its stative, perception sense (e.g. ‘to see with your eyes’) the verb occurs 17 times; undoubtedly I was expecting the dynamic sense to dominate here. On many occasions it seems the simple form would have transferred the intended message as the changes of meaning were indeed subtle, but instead the progressive was chosen. The examples vary in their meaning, but the main sense connected to the progressive here can be identified as temporariness, see below:

- (117) M1013 rings in their noses an rings in their ears an oh my good- wondered what I *was seein*. [inaudible]
- (118) M816 there seems to be quite a few o them around. A lot of people *are seeing* them.

8.7 Other verbs in the data

For further breakdown of the data, an account of the most common main verbs to occur in the progressive in the sample is given in this section. It is clear that certain verbs became emphasised, and a handful of more innovative cases came up, too. However, as activity verbs take the progressive more often than other verbs, and as the Scottish variety has been found to bend the rules slightly, it is reasonable to have a look at the types of verbs in the sample.

The most common main verbs in the sample are indeed activity verbs, somewhat in the style of other similar overviews in corpus studies on the progressive (see Smitherberg, 2005, for instance). The most frequent verb in the sample is *go*, which is also reflected in the popularity of the *be going to* + infinitive construction, yielding 159 tokens (76 cases of *be going to*). *Go* is a movement verb widely used both in the written and spoken registers, and it is the most often used main verb even when the *be going to* construction is excluded from the counts. Smitherberg’s study, although different in nature and scale, also found *go* as the commonest main verb (2005, 149). In fact, he goes

out to explain the dominance of *go* as a main verb in the progressive with the fact that the increase of both the *be going to* construction and the progressive of *go* have possibly “reinforced each other”, because both include the structure *be going* (ibid.).

The second most common verb is *do*, which came third on Smitterberg’s list of verbs, coming up 51 times in the data. *Do* is undoubtedly an activity verb, but part of its popularity in the sample may be owing to its common use as a replacing verb that, effectively, works in the place of another verb in the sentence (2005, 150). Sometimes, especially in speech as has become evident in the data, *do* is used instead of a more complex verb that the speaker does not remember at that moment, or alternatively, when the other verb occurs earlier or later in the sentence and repetition is avoided by using *do*.

In contrast to Smitterberg’s study then, *try* is the third most common main verb in the sample, instead of verbs such as *come*, *get* or *speak* that were perhaps expected to be popular here. *Try* is only the 18th most common in Smitterberg’s study, whereas in Scheffer’s (1975) for instance, it was the 8th. Thus, naturally there is variation according to the corpus, and as regards the present study the major influencing factor is that the data consists of spoken material from a certain dialect area. In spoken corpus material we can expect, in terms of verbs, that for instance the reporting verbs *say* and *tell* would be frequently used, and this was indeed the case with *say* (43 tokens, 4th most common verb) but not with *tell* (8 tokens). Neither was the verb *get* very frequent, unlike expected due to its multiple usages, yielding only 22 tokens. The top 10 most used verbs in the progressive in the sample were *go*, *do*, *try*, *say*, *talk*, *look*, *think*, *be*, *work* and *write*, respectively. Only after these verbs do we find *get*, *have* and *tell*, to name but a few. The verbs and numbers can be seen in table 5 below.

Verb	Number
go	159 (76)
do	51
try	49
say	43
talk	35
look	30
think	29
be	24
work	23
write	23

Table 5. The ten most frequent verbs in the data.

As the character of the data is for the most part rather informal, the verbs used in the progressive are also every-day verbs. The Scottishness of the material is clearly visible on the level of pronunciation, lexicology and language structure throughout, but not many Scottish English verbs ended up in the random sample in the progressive. Practically the only one was *stot* which is distinctively Scottish (*intr.* To rebound, bounce (*from, off*); to fall or impinge with a bounce (*on, against*); to jump, start, spring., Scottish and Northern English, s.v. OED online). Also, *snow* came up with its Scottish spelling *snaw*, but other than that the verbs itself did not show distinct signs of Scottish dialect.

8.8 Special meanings of the progressive

Undoubtedly one of the most interesting issues a study on the progressive can aim at tackling is the varied meanings of the construction. This has been carried out in the present study by discussing in the theory part for example how progressive meanings are interpreted and categorised, and in the findings section, the way progressive meaning changes when a stative verb is in question. Progressive meaning has been mentioned elsewhere in the running text of this study, too. As the meanings and functions of the progressive are vast, only one could be chosen for further analysis in this study.

In this section then, the occurrence of one the emotive/attitudinal meanings (*always*-type progressive) in the data is looked at, as they are often stated as being one of the issues responsible for the growth of the progressive. However, in order to stay within frames originally set for this study, the amount of all the different special meanings as opposed to aspectual meanings has not been calculated, and thus no clear conclusions can be drawn from these numbers. Quantitative analysis is not the aim here, quite the reverse actually, and thus it is more pertinent here to consider the examples in a qualitative sense instead.

Additionally, the *always*-type use was chosen here because it is particularly interesting when looking at the way certain constructions are used in a variety of English and whether these types of more expressive usages are common in the variety. It should also be noted that when it comes to special meanings, the *futurate progressive* has already been discussed in this study in section 8.4 on modals (*will+ing*) as well as in connection to the *be going to*-construction, as has the *tentative/downtoning use* in the sections on the stative verbs *hope* and *want*. No more examples of tentative use were discovered for other verbs denoting tentativeness, such as *wonder*, for instance.

The *interpretive progressive* was excluded as it is admittedly impossible to retrieve from the data without extremely close readings of the complete context surrounding the progressive, and

being a complex issue, it cannot be considered thoroughly in a mere section of a study. Therefore, although all the meanings are potentially interesting for this study, under discussion in the following are the emotive/attitudinal meanings found in the data sample, but not in comparison to the aspectual meanings present. It should be noted here that categorising meanings for individual progressive sentences is a challenging task in most cases, and careful reading of the context is usually needed, too.

8.8.1 The always-type progressive

There are eleven instances of the *always*-type progressive in the data. As pointed out earlier, the *always*-type progressive often implies a negative attitude, but it can sometimes have positive or neutral meanings, too. In the sample the attitudes were more positive, and they were easily identifiable in each example:

- (119) ...oh she had so many funny words we just *were always laughing* but it was there every day//language//...
- (120) ...and when I first came to Uni here, back in ninety-eight, I knew people there so I *was always meeting* people that I knew and stuff...

In many cases the sentences were neutral statements. In the latter example, it is unsure whether the comment in fact underlies an openly positive, even admiring attitude, since it is from an interview with writer Liz Lochhead:

- (121) ...erm again I'm *always trying* to do something different, A, from what I've done before.
- (122) ...You're *always constructing* a sort of, not so much a story, it's more a drama for me...

Some instances were slightly ambiguous as to what is the genuine attitude of the speaker. Generally speaking, it is difficult to be absolutely sure about someone's intentions behind an utterance, as they are not always shown openly to the outside. In the context there may be laughing

and joking which would indicate positive attitude, but the statements itself can be deemed negative. Two examples showed ambiguity; consider example (123), for instance.

- (123) You're *always trying* to make me read books that I don't really need to read (laugh)...

Rather surprisingly, only one clear example of negative attitude was found in the sample. If not open negativity, a sense of irritation could be detected, consider:

- (124) ...looking for someone for that disobedient cockerspaniel they're *always talking* about.

When it comes to *always*-type adverbials that occur with the progressive in the sample, the findings were rather simple: in ten occasions *always* was used, and in one the adverbial was *constantly*. More unusual adverbials such as *eternally* or *continually* were not found modifying the progressive, which may be owing to the fact that spoken language is under analysis here. This issue can, if not throughout the material, also have an effect on the style of the conversation in other respects, such as attitude, politeness and correctness; as in some cases it may be that the speaker is not fully relaxed and thus not portraying their normal ways of speaking.

Despite these considerations, the use of the *always*-type progressive in this sample was slightly surprising. As the *always*-type progressive has typically been said to communicate negativity or irritation on the speaker's part towards something, it was expected that this would be the case in the sample, too. However, conversely it seems that for instance Smith and Smitherberg's comments about the *always*-type progressive sometimes conveying positive and neutral messages as well holds true. These findings could indicate that the progressive denotes even more versatile and expressive usages than originally thought. The positive dimension of the *always*-type progressive seems to be

often left without much attention by many accounts on the progressive, though, and it could be an interesting question for further studies.

9. Summary and discussion

This study has discussed the use of the progressive in Scottish English, aiming not only to describe the way the construction is used in the variety and how it differs from Standard English, but also to find examples of innovative use especially with respect to certain verbs and meanings. The progressive has been on the increase for a long period of time, and there are specific features of its use that have been attested by linguistic research to affect its rapid growth; perhaps most widely known being its use with stative verbs. These factors and whether they are evident in Scottish English has also been discussed in this study.

For this study I analysed one thousand progressives from the *Scottish Corpus of Text and Speech*, with special focus on progressive form, progressive meaning and the way the progressive is used with modal and stative verbs. To sum up; 926 genuine progressives were included in the analysis after the preliminary overview of examples where some unclear cases were still omitted. The progressives were then categorised according to voice and form, and later the constructions *modal+progressive*, *be going to*, and *stative verb+progressive* were looked at, in addition to the occurrence with other types of verbs and one of its special meanings. It was discovered in the data that active progressives were indeed frequent compared to passive progressives, with 98,4% against 1,6%. Although some accounts of the progressive have suggested that the growth of the progressive passive is one of the issues contributing to the increase of the construction in general, the active progressive has still been more common throughout. Therefore, in this respects the study followed what has been found by earlier linguistic studies on the matter. The findings may be different in studies that focus on written language, where more formal genres can also be found, but in spoken language the amount of passives can be expected to stay moderate. Additionally, as mentioned in section 8.2 on voice, the *get*-passive has been on the rise in contemporary English, and is much more common in speech than the more formal passive-constructions.

The progressive forms, a term used here for the different constructions of the progressive, namely *present progressive*, *past progressive*, *perfect progressive*, *past perfect progressive*, *to-infinitive* and *perfect to-infinitive*, were also calculated. What could be said is that the present progressive active was, expectedly, found to be the most common form of the progressive in ScE with 514 (56,4%) of all the active progressives. It was the most common in the passive, too, and when looking at both voices jointly. Although the present study is not really comparable to any other corpus studies on similar subjects because it focuses on a certain variety and deals with the spoken part of a smaller corpus, it can be noted that for instance Smith's 2002 study also found that the growth of the progressive in British English is mostly visible in the present tense (cf. Smith, 2002). This has been found in other studies, too, such as Smith three years later (2005 study) and Collins on world Englishes (2008).

The present progressive (514, 56,4%) and past progressive active (325, 35,7%) account for the clear majority of progressives in the study (92,1%), conforming to findings in earlier studies. The other progressive forms were clearly in the minority, which was also a finding that follows previous accounts. Mainly these findings show that although the data largely conforms to some uniform rules of progressive use when it comes to its basic dimensions such as form or voice, they do, on the other hand, also speak for the uniqueness of spoken language data compared to written language. Indeed, the regularity found in spoken language was also evident in the study, for instance in the fact that active sentences in the present or past tense are the most common.

Aside from the general considerations on progressive use in the data, the most interesting findings were discovered relating to the less common uses that communicate various meanings and involve various verbs. The progressive has become more common with modal verbs in English, and it is motivating for the present study because the *modal+progressive* -construction has some features which make it stand out from the 'regular' progressives. The number of progressives used with a

modal verb in the data was 40 out of 926 (4,3%), which is not overly extensive. Studies such as Smith (2002, 2005) saw significant increase in the construction in the recent decades, but as a diachronic approach was not taken in this study, this point cannot be analysed. However, the percentage is not significantly lower than Smith's 6% in FLOB (2002), for instance, and the examples give us valuable information, too.

The study indicates that *would* (19/40) and *will* (12/40) were the most often used modals, and no instances of *shall*, *may*, *ought to* and *must* were found. The results seem to follow what is characteristic of ScE in the sense that the first three are not used in informal ScE, and the latter is also restricted in use. Similarly, the popularity of *would* can be explained by ScE features, as *would* is said to be used instead of *should* in ScE because of Scots influence, and it is common with the progressive in Celtic Englishes (Filppula et al., 2008, 178-179). Lastly, *will* is used in the place of *shall* in ScE to express the future, which may well in part account for its popularity with the progressive, too. The apparent attractiveness of using modals with the progressive is interesting, as they are often used with the purpose of denoting special meanings such as futurity (*will +be + -ing*) or habitual activity (*would +be + -ing*). This can be regarded as an indication of the assumed expressiveness of the variety when it comes to the progressive. In fact, the behaviour of the *modal+progressive* construction, particularly in Celtic Englishes, is a topic worth investigating further and with more detail than was possible in the present study.

In addition to modals, the use of stative verbs with the progressive in ScE was analysed in order to reach some of the goals set for the study at the outset. A stative verb occurred with a progressive 88 times (9,5% of all progressives) in the sample, which is a satisfactory number in that none of the other "potentially innovative" progressive constructions, such as the *modal+progressive* or the *always-type* progressive reached such numbers, and also because hypothetically ScE should allow stative verbs to take the progressive more generously than some other varieties. Stative verbs

were used in the progressive widely throughout the corpus sample, so that various different verbs were discovered (23 to be precise) and the contexts and uses were manifold. When looking at the verbs closely, some interesting examples were indeed found. Perhaps the most innovative ones arose with for instance *hope* and *want* which in the progressive often have a tentative or polite meaning; they were used in the progressive also with much more subtle, quite undistinguishable, tentativeness. There were various instances where the progressive was chosen over the simple form seemingly without any outward explanation throughout the range of stative verbs in the sample, such as with the verbs *enjoy*, *find*, *hear* and *understand* to name but a few.

Some stative verbs occurred with the progressive slightly more often than others, namely *think*, *be* and *have* being the top three, but this was due to the fact that they often have a dynamic sense – making it quite acceptable for them to take the progressive. Indeed, it seems that although some stative verbs were more frequently used in the progressive, none in particular could be picked out as overriding the others, but the progressive ranged rather evenly through the category of verbs. This could imply that in ScE, the use of the progressive is not so much verb-dependant, but rather meaning-dependant, so that the construction can be used practically with any verb, when the speaker wants to communicate a certain meaning and even when the situation does not call for it as such. Often the changes of meaning are so subtle that we could call them stylistic choices more than anything else. It seems that the rather recent findings about why English speakers increasingly favour the progressive over the simple form by Scheffer (1975) and Mair and Hundt (1995) for example apply in ScE as well. As stated by Scheffer, the “latitude to convey subtle shades of meaning” that the progressive enables the speaker/writer with is one of the reasons for the increase of the progressive construction (1975, 110). Certainly, many examples in the present study could only be explained by a stylistic choice over the simple form, where only a slight change of meaning could be detected. In the case of some examples it is possible that the progressive was used instead of the

simple form just because the alternative exists. That is to say, since the speaker has a choice, especially in the more ‘progressive-allowing’ –varieties, they are tempted to use it. In all simplicity, the progressive seems to be a more expressive and therefore often a more appealing construction, which is able to communicate a variety of different meanings.

Furthermore, it was discovered that not only are progressive meanings diverse as it is, new shades of meaning can indeed be detected as well. This was evident for instance in the case of the *always*-type progressive, where the meaning seems to be spreading more and more to neutral and positive contexts in addition to the typical negative inferences the construction has. Sometimes the progressive is used in unconventional ways in ScE without a simple explanation or clear intention, which is also evidence of its popularity today. The often mentioned “bending of rules” for progressive use, especially in spoken English, seems to be clearly in effect here even if the data sample is not very extensive. The progressive is usually used when we want some kind of effect: emotion, attitude, temporariness or ongoingness. The examples from the data seem to show that at least in ScE, sometimes the progressive can occur instead of the simple form in places where it is normally not expected, changing the meaning of the utterance or the way the situation is viewed only slightly if at all.

10. Conclusion

Taking on the challenge of studying a regional variety of English with focus on a grammatical construction that is both complex and widely discussed was, if slightly ambitious, most definitely informative and thought-provoking. When dealing with such a fundamental linguistic phenomenon in the English language, it is inevitable that a study of the present scale cannot give an exhaustive account of the complete issue, whereas raising further questions becomes indispensable. Analysing a relatively small corpus, the only one made of contemporary ScE, did form limitations to the study, but as interesting results were nonetheless discovered regarding progressive meaning and its behaviour with modal and stative verbs for example, I consider the progressive by no means a fully-analysed matter.

The results essentially provided me with more insight into how the progressive functions in Scottish English, and shed more light on debated issues such as the use of stative verbs with the progressive and progressive meaning. The study used a less known corpus that focuses exclusively on Scottish English, which is an important fact considering linguistic research in general, where corpora only exists of certain varieties – and certainly some varieties receive more attention than others. Therefore, studying regional varieties and using lesser known corpora is not only interesting from a linguistic point of view, but also useful for research purposes. Employing a corpus-driven approach, which is in a sense less restricted than the corpus-based approach, is an eye-opening and absorbing experience, which inevitably takes one to a close contact with the material. Although being closely connected to the corpus data, this technique allows the researcher to look for new patterns and make further deductions from there, which can lead to interesting observations. This method proved suitable and a good choice for this study, too.

As mentioned earlier, many further questions and possible topics for further research arose in the course of this study. The main aspects to investigate in the future could be, for example, the use of modal verbs in the progressive in Scottish English in comparison with other Celtic Englishes in order to see what kind of differences and similarities could be found. Also, with respect to stative verbs, for instance a look into the increase of special meanings compared to aspectual meanings could be advantageous, or equally, a comparison with other Celtic varieties would again be interesting. However, whichever way the research on the progressive is going, I think that the meanings the progressive conveys should and will be considered. As this study also showed the range of meanings seems to be expanding, and the present-day progressive shows great communicative value and flexibility.

I consider the analysis of grammatical features in regional varieties of English in their own right to be an important issue, as opposed to taking the main varieties as the baseline at all times. Indeed, it is not merely British and American English that lead the way in linguistic change in contemporary English, as the language has spread and taken a stronger role in many parts of the world. This is an aspect that has been taken into consideration in research increasingly in the recent years, but that hopefully sees even more development in the future.

11. References

Corpora

The Scottish Corpus of Text and Speech, <http://www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk/> [Accessed September 2009 – December 2012]

Works cited

Anderson, W. 2006. “Absolutely, Totally, Filled to the Brim with the Famous Grouse: Intensifying Adverbs in SCOTS.” *English Today*, 22/3, 10-16.

Beattie, Simon. 2001. “The Other John Sinclair.” *English Today*, 17/2, 37-38.

Biber, Douglas. 2009. “A Corpus-driven Approach to Formulaic Language in English: Multi-word Patterns in Speech and Writing.” *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14/3, 275–311.

Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad and Edward Finegan. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.

Collins, Peter. 2008. “The Progressive Aspect in World Englishes: A Corpus-based Study.” *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 28/2, 225-249.

Collins, Peter. 2009. “The Progressive”. In *Comparative Studies in Australian and New Zealand English: Grammar and beyond*, ed. Pam Peters, Peter Collins and Adam Smith, 115-123. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, David. 1988. *The English language*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Douglas, Fiona. 2006. “English in Scotland”. In *The Handbook of Modern Englishes*, ed. Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru and Cecil L. Nelson, 41-57. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Filppula, Markku, Juhani Klemola, Heli Pitkänen (eds.). 2002. *The Celtic Roots of English*. Joensuu: University of Joensuu, Faculty of the Humanities.

Filppula, Markku, Juhani Klemola, Heli Pitkänen. 2008. *English and Celtic in Contact*. New York/London: Routledge.

Hundt, Marianne. 2009. “Global feature – local norms? A case study on the progressive passive”. In *World Englishes – Problems, Properties, and Prospects: Selected papers from the 13th IAWC conference*, ed. Thomas Hoffmann and Lucia Siebers, 287-308. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Hundt, Marianne. 2004. "Animacy, agentivity, and the spread of the progressive in Modern English". *English Language and Linguistics*, 8/1, 47-69.
- Leech, Geoffrey and Jan Svartvik. 2002. *A Communicative Grammar of English*. London: Longman.
- Leech, Geoffrey, Marianne Hundt, Christian Mair and Nicholas Smith. 2009. *Change in Contemporary English: A Grammatical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macafee, Caroline. 1983. *Varieties of English Around the World: Glasgow*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Meurman-Solin, Anneli. 2002. "The Progressive in Older Scots". In *English Historical Syntax and Morphology. Selected papers from 11 ICEHL, Santiago de Compostela, 7-11 September 2000, Volume 1*, ed. Fanego, Teresa, 203-229. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Miller, Jim. 1993. "The Grammar of Scottish English", in *Real English: the Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles*. ed. James Milroy and Lesley Milroy, 99-138. London: Longman.
- Miller, Jim. 2004. "Scottish English: Morphology and Syntax". In *A Handbook of Varieties of English*, ed. B. Kortmann and E. Schneider, 47-72. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mustanoja, Tauno, F. 1960. *A Middle English Syntax. Part 1, Parts of speech*, Mémoires de la Société Neophilologique de Helsinki. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden kirjapaino Oy.
- Norri, Juhani. 1996. "Regional Labels in Some British and American Dictionaries." *International Journal of Lexicography*, 9/1, 1-29.
- Ota, A. 1963. *Tense and aspect of Present-day American English*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1984. "The English language in Scotland". In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 56-83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Römer, Ute. 2005. *Progressives, Patterns, Pedagogy: a Corpus-driven Approach to English Progressive Forms, Functions, Contexts and Dialects*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Sandred, Karl Inge. 1983. *Good or Bad Scots? Attitudes to Optional Lexical and Grammatical Usages in Edinburgh*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 48, Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Scheffer, Johannes. 1975. *The Progressive*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Smith, Nicholas. 2005. *A Corpus-based Investigation of Recent Change in the Use of the Progressive in British English*. A PhD thesis submitted to Lancaster University.
- Smith, Nicholas. 2002. "Ever moving on? The progressive in recent British English". In *New Frontiers of Corpus Research: papers from the 21st International Conference on English Language*

Research in Computerised Corpora, Sydney 2002, ed. Pam Peters, Peter Collins and Adam Smith, 317-330. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Smitherberg, Erik. 2005. *The Progressive in 19th Century English. A Process of Integration*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Stuart-Smith, Jane. 2004. "The phonology of Scottish English." In *A Handbook of Varieties of English: 1: Phonology*, ed. Bernd Kortmann, Kate Burridge, Rajend Mesthrie, Edgar W. Schneider and Clive Upton, 47-67. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Electronic sources

Ball, Catherine N. 1994. "Automated Text Analysis: Cautionary Tales". *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 9/4, 205-302. [Internet] Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available from http://www.corpuslinguist.com/wp-content/uploads/Ball_Automated-text-analysis-Cautionary- Tales.pdf [Accessed 22 November 2012]

The Dictionary of the Scots Language. 2005. [Internet] Available from <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/> [Accessed 10 December 2010]

The Oxford English Dictionary Online. 2010. [Internet] Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available from: www.oed.com. [Accessed 3 December 2012]

The Scots Language Centre, [Internet] Available from: <http://www.scotslanguage.com/>. [Accessed 7 November 2010]

Scots Online, [Internet] Available from: <http://www.scots-online.org/grammar/sse.htm>. [Accessed 11 May 2011]

Maps

<http://newsnetscotland.com/index.php/affairs-scotland/1541-a-history-of-scottish-languages-part-6> [Accessed 9 November 2010]